

# HAALGAM

(THE STRUGGLE)

Organ of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party



## THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE SOMALI WOMEN'S DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATION

- norms of party life
- afro\_arab conference

Struggle to  
learn, in order to  
learn to  
struggle better



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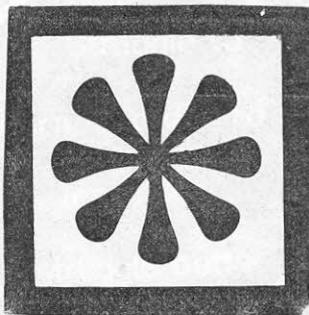
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# HALGAN

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

### ON SILENCING IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA DRUMS

On the evening of March 21st 1977, the Secretary-General of the SRSP and the contingent of artists & intellectuals who participated at the Second Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture met. The contingent gave the Secretary-General & the other Party & Government Leaders gathered, a synopsis of Somalia's role and position at Festac 77. In his address for the occasion, the Secretary-General heartily congratulated Somalia's Festac contingent for their remarkable achievements. He also expressed deep regrets for the four Somalis who died in Nigeria as a result of a road accident while responding to an invitation to perform in Joss Plateau State.

The Secretary-General emphasised the critical role of artists and intellectuals in the struggle against imperialism, in the struggle for socialism. The artists and intellectual have powerful weapons in the struggle to influence the masses; thus, he remarked with a sense of humour they are the «real leaders» of society inspite of the presence of such leaders as himself. Accordingly, he called their attention to be vigilant in order to effectively combat imperialist propaganda intended to confuse the masses, thereby sabotaging Somalia's transition towards genuine independence under socialism.

The Secretary-General talked about the need to silence recent imperialist propaganda drum. The international imberialis drumming is echoed bay local imperialist and neo-colonial agents in our coffee-shops. The image of «drums» prov'ded the Secretary-General's address a very powerful theme that effectively connected the two parts of his address; it will be recalled that «Durbaan» or «Drum» is the title of the highly acclaimed Somali drama presented at Festac 77.

Imperialist propaganda drumming has recently been geared, the Secretary-General pointed out, to the question of Ethiopia, relations between Somalia and the rest of Africa and the Arab world, and the relations between Somalia and Socialist nations, the USSR in particular.

Imperialism and its local agents, he pointed out, have not ceased to question Somalia's dual role in the Organisation of African Unity and in the Arab League. They attempt to confuse the masses by playing up one role against another. Somalia is an Arab nation, an African nation. Somalia's ties to the Afro-Arab world are historical. They have grown up naturally and profoundly over the course of centuries of development. The struggle against imperialism has dded nother dimension, and content to these historical links. The Democratic Republic of Somalia guided by the SRSP, takes up its historical duties

seriously. Somalia actively works to forge an effective Afro-Arab anti-imperialist solidarity in order to free the peoples of Southern Africa dominated by Imperialism and Apartheid, and to free the Arab particularly Palestinian, people dominated by Imperialism and Zionism. International imperialism fears and dislikes the role Somalia plays in forging an Afro-Arab anti-imperialist solidarity. Thus it lets loose confusing propaganda drums on this issue. Imperialism and its local allies try to reduce this complex problem of historical links and the exigencies of effective political economic solidarity into an abstract issue of «racial identity». It wants to place the Somali masses into a false position of choice between abstract «Africanism» and «Arabism». Somalia he reiterated, is a responsible Afro-Arab nation, an anti-imperialist nation on the way towards a socialist future.

Imperialist propaganda drumming has attained frenzied proportions on the question of Ethiopia. Imperialist mass media — TV, radio, newspapers magazines — puts forward a torrent of propaganda on this question. The imperialists and their local coffee-shop agents alleged that Ethiopia is a socialist state.

They go on to claim that since «Ethiopia and Somalia are natural enemies», Somalia opposes this trend and that, therefore, Somalia will opt out of the socialist path. The Secretary-General emphasised that there is no question of Somalia going against her historical determined choice of socialism as the only path for development, progress and peace. It was a choice arising out of objective conditions, not a merely wishful, whimsical or opportunistic choice. He called on the artists and intellectuals to strengthen this resolve in the consciousness of the masses in order to silence all anti-socialist drums.

The Secretary-General pointed out that the SDR is highly aware of the fact that neighbouring Ethiopia has been an exploited under-developed country herself. The masses lived under deplorable conditions under a semi-feudal Emperor whose system was intimately linked to international imperialism. Somalia salutes and jubilantly welcomes all moves to transform Ethiopia from the previous system of double oppression, tyranny, terrorism and mass starvation; Somalia salutes all sincere efforts to move Ethiopia from a feudal-capitalist system towards a democratic, socialist-oriented path.

However, the Secretary-General recalled, imperial Ethiopia colonised and oppressed Somali people in its bid for expansionism under the tutelage of international imperialism. «Thus our Ethiopian brothers, all of us who jubilantly encourage your efforts to bury the evils of feudalism and colonialism, do not expect to see the Somali people continue to choke under the yoke of oppression; and this is highly ironic and paradoxical given that your new Ethiopian regime claims to be «socialist». We cannot be satisfied with such a state of affairs . . . . We are asking the Ethiopian regime to acknowledge the fact that there is no difference between the present order and the previous one for the Somali people who were colonised and oppressed by Haile Selassie. For these people there is no difference between a Haile Selassie and Haile Mariam as long as the new regime does not permit them as an oppressed nationality to freely exercise their right to self-determination».

At this point in his highly important address, the Secretary-General raised theoretical and practical aspects of the national and colonial question within the framework of socialist internationalism. For working peoples everywhere, the struggle for social emancipation and socialism are always of the greatest importance. But this in no way means that the socialist movement is indifferent to the national aspirations of the masses and that the national relations in any particular country are immaterial to it. The socialist movement, guided by true principles of scientific socialism cannot take a nihilistic approach to the nationalities question. Putting it in vivid Somali imagery, the Secretary-General abbreviated thus: «Socialist internationalism does not devour the nationalities and colonial question».

Abolition of national oppression is of vital interest to the workers and their peasants allies because this oppression always and primarily affects the working masses, hampers their political development and keeps them away from the class struggles for socialism. V.I. Lenin noted that, «nothing so much holds up the development and strengthening of proletarian class solidarity as national injustice». Thus, by prolonging the policy and practice of «national injustice» of the previous regime, the present Ethiopian regime is holding up the progressive development of socialist internationalism in the Horn of Africa. The Secretary-General reflections on these questions is best captured by the formula elaborated by Marx and Engels, «A people that oppresses other peoples cannot itself be free». Lenin termed this formula as «the fundamental principle of internationalism», and proletarian internationalism is an inalienable part Marxism-Leninism.

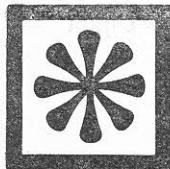
Ethiopia should consolidate her unity on the basis of national justice, through exercising the right to self-determination of oppressed nationalities. She should refrain from using force and violence in order to retrain the unjust order of the previous regimes. By carrying out so-called peasant crusades to preserve the sanctity of imperial Ethiopia, the new regime is engendering distrust and alienation among the masses of different nationalities. This prevents the genuine coming together and joining forces in the common struggle against international capitalism, the struggle for true socialism, peace and fraternal relations. Somalia seeks her national unity in a peaceful way, guided by the principles of scientific socialism, and hoping to achieve this unity in order to play an even more effective role in the international revolutionary movement that is guiding mankind from capitalism towards socialism.

The Secretary-General called on Somali artists and intellectuals to drum out all imperialist propaganda aimed at confusing Somalia's militantly anti-imperialist Afro-Arab role; aimed at presenting revolutionary Somalia's policy towards Ethiopia in a one-sided chauvinistic perspective, while the SDR views current happenings in Ethiopia from a dialectical, internationalist perspective. Imperialist propaganda drumming, utilising the issues outlined above, goes on to attack the relations between Somalia and her socialist friends. Imperialist propaganda particularly singles out SDR-USSR relations for stringent attacks. Imperialist drums beat up rhythms which are duly picked up by local anti-revolutionary. The Secretary-General emphasised that such malicious rumours have no basis whatsoever, they are aimed at harming the cause of anti-

imperialist solidarity which is one of the principles of the Somali Revolution. Imperialist propaganda, the Secretary-General remarked, wants us to forget that the USSR is a scientifically managed nation. The USSR does not pursue ch bldish, whimsical policies. The leadership of the USSR is a proven, historically matured leadership. Likewise, since the Revolution, the SDR policies are guided with the careful aim of obtaining our long-range objectives of constructing a developed socialist society. The SRSP is a scientific socialist instrument that saves Somalia from the subjective, whimsical approach to policies characteristic of previous regimes. The friendship ties between the USSR and Somalia, and indeed between Somalia and socialist and progressive peoples everywhere, are historical links solidified by objective historical trends and the common ideology of scientific socialism. Somalia has come close to the USSR and the rest of the Socialist states because they all share common ideals and struggle for common objectives.

«Somalia and the USSR are intimate friends. The USSR has provided Somalia a great deal of moral and material assistance — in improving our educational and technical capacities, our economic progress in general and in our very capacity to safeguard our sovereignty. Somalia is not a mean, envious nation; we freely, openly and proudly acknowledge our gratitude, we heartily salute those who assist us fraternally just as we resolutely condemn those who oppressed us and continue to harm our cause. The positive role of the USSR will always be recorded in our history. Thus the assertions that Somalia and the USSR are parting company should be seen in the context of those whose interest are harmed by the effective implementation of the ideals and objectives already discussed».

The Secretary-General recalled that the Somalia of 1977 is a matured, revolutionary society. The revolution and its institutions, the SRSP and the Social organisations, have prepared the revolutionary masses by organising their activities and by raising their political consciousness. Accordingly, recent imperialist propaganda faithfully echoed by its coffee-shop agents meets a politically matured climate. Nevertheless, the struggle continues and Jaalle Siyad called on the artists and intellectuals to redouble their efforts in order to effectively silence all sorts of imperialist propaganda drums.



## THE CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN AND ARAB HEAD OF STATES

During the month of March, the Independent African and Arab head of States met in the City of Cairo as a result of the proposal of Somalia during the conference of Arab League in Rabat, in 1973, since then the Secretary General of the SRSP had been persuading the concerned head of states to stage this conference.

It is unquestionable that the interests and objectives which African and Arab people share are many. Both people have similar history, in particular that of colonialism, neo-colonialism and inter-dependent economy which is a prey

of international imperialism. The imperialists had deviated and diverted the African and Arab people from their common interests and instead created hostility in order to gain their own ends.

But from the beginning of the seventies it became clear to them that the prejudice they had against each other, was a result of bourgeois news media propaganda, consequently it became inevitable to most to have urgent mutual understanding. It also became clear to them that if every nation sees crucial events simply as a matter of internal affairs they will in the long run become economically, politically and strategically an easy prey of international imperialism.

On the part of the Arabs, the history of Palestine, Lebanon, the problem of Egypt and Syria suffer from and similar others depict the individual destruction of each and the division of their land.

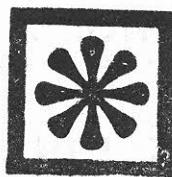
On the other hand the colonised part of Africa and the neo-colonised part have a whole history of continuous oppression, invasion and assassination of leading figures, prominent among them being Lumumba, Amílcar Cabral, Eduardo Mondlane, Marian Nguabi and who will be the next? This clearly shows how the disunity of these nations facilitates the easy intrusion of the imperialists to the extent of assassinations and coup-d'états whenever other means are exhausted.

These experiences have made the concerned parties conscious of their indispensability and from then on they start meetings in order to develop confidence within each other. The African Countries became aware of the danger of Israel's zionist policy to the middle East Peace, the question of Palestine and the stand of the Arab Nations on this issue, like wise, the Arab nations became aware of the oppression in South Africa and the problems of development in Africa.

The case being so, imperialism has not given up yet, it has tried to convince many African countries that their economic problems resulted from Arab activities on the other hand. It has made the Arab countries to believe that the African Countries have started a commercial alliance with the intent of getting oil and hard currency.

Therefore this conference had a great significance as mentioned by the Secretary General. It played a great role in erasing the misunderstanding and suspicion created between the African and Arab nations. The only weapon the Arab and African people have is: alliance of the two in solving economic problems and in confronting the enemy of both.

As is well known it is hard to achieve independence but it is harder to safeguard it. Only those who have the economic capability to produce modern weapons can afford that; none of the Arab or African nation have the ability to do so in order to safeguard their sovereignty and therefore develop their economy peacefully, it is imperative for them to use the only weapon they have; their force of alliance and here lies the potentialities of the Cairo Conference.



# THE PARIS TALKS ON JIBUTI

The Conference at Paris taking place between different parties of the Liberation Movement of the French Somali Coast and the French Colonialists might end without success.

A need to solve the following points necessitated the Conference:-

- 1) Naming the exact date of the referendum with which the people will decide on their independence.
- 2) Fixing the exact date of independence.
- 3) Discussing with the French Government whatever economic aid they are prepared to give to rebuild the economy of the country after independence.

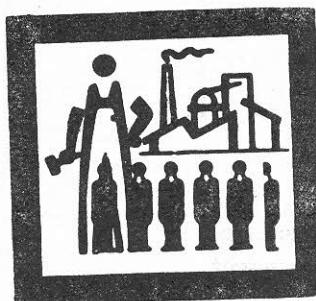
After the conference continued for some time, resolving only preliminary matters. The French colonialists come up with some propositions with which they wanted to fulfil their well known policy of «Divide and rule». They started to play with the tribal and regional issue in an effort to weaken the unity of the Jibuti people and in particular the Liberation movement parties at the conference. This rendered the conference unsuccessful so far.

Among the points that the colonial French Government raised at the conference:

- 1) They proposed to divide the Parliamentary seats on tribal regional grounds, (after they failed to divide the people in the Somali Coast).
- 2) The French colonialists presented their long-sought military base plan in a more subtle form calling it a force safeguarding the security and sovereignty of Jibuti. They claim that they will gradually reduce its numbers if it could be replaced by an equivalent force of the newly independent state. (This is what Somalia and all the peace loving countries in the world were fighting against and will never consent to such an act undermining the independence of the Somali Coast (Jibuti) before it is born).

The Colonialists, however hard they try, will never succeed to stop the struggle of the Liberation forces in the Somali Coast, and it is with the people that the matter lies now, with the whole hearted and committed support of the Somali people and their Government assisted by all the peace loving progressive countries of the World.

## Political, Social and Economic affairs



### THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE SOMALI WOMEN ORGANISATION

By Fadumo M. Abdisalaam

Somali Women have played a significant role in the struggle for national liberation. They were active participants and supporters of the various nationalist political parties. They came out in full support for the October 21st, 1969 Revolution that opened up a Socialist path for Somalia.

The Somali Revolution understood the need to organise the revolutionary masses. Thus, as early as 1972 a political office was created under the Presidency of the Supreme Revolutionary Council. This office opened branches all over the country. Under these branches, the revolutionary orientations centres there were committees set up for workers, youth, women and the Guulwade (Victory pioneers). The political office helped to lay the basis for the creation of a vanguard Party and social (mass) organization.

The Vanguard party, the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, was founded on July 1st, 1976. During the sittings of the CC of the SRSP, the question of further developing the social organisations was tackled. During the 3rd plenary Session of the central Committee, the Secretary-General's report stated as follows:

«The Party should also be linked to the masses through mobilizing and organizing them. Therefore, our Party should pay considerable attention to the task of improving the structures and functions of our social and mass organisations... The Social Organisation (Workers, Youth, Women) require new laws and programmes for the execution of their tasks. These should go hand in hand with the programme and the statute of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. Democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism should be made the operational principles of the social organisations».

Accordingly specific resolutions were drafted which led to the formations of task-forces charged with the responsibility of preparing documents and making arrangements for the holding of founding congresses for Somali Women Workers and Youths.

The Founding Congress for the Somali Women Democratic Organisation took place during March 4th to 6th, 1977. A total of 500 delegates from all the districts and regions of the Somali Democratic Republic participated as founding members. Guest delegation from some friendly coun-

tries and international organisations were present at the Congress: a delegation from the Women of the Somali Coast (Jibuti), from the Palestine Liberation Organisation, from the Women's Committee of the USSR, from Women's organisation of the German Democratic Republic, from the Federation of Cuban Women, from the Women International Democratic Federation (WIDF) and the from the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO). The Congress received numerous congratulatory messages from within Somalia and from international friends everywhere.

The Congress heard an address of the SRSP Secretary-General and President of the SDR, Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre. This important speech is reproduced in this issue of HALGAN.

The Congress was ably chaired by Jaalle Maryan Mohamud, the Head to the Women's Section of the SRSP Bureau Mass Mobilization.

During its proceedings, the Congress heard numerous reports from regional women delegations. Many of these reports dealt with the history of women organisation in the regions, the roles they have played in various campaigns and

projects — such as the literacy campaign, the drought rehabilitation programme etc. Some of the reports had useful figures on women roles in employment, education, cooperatives etc. Among the most popular reports were of women from the new settlement towns, such as Sablaale. These agricultural and fishing towns were created as part of the drought rehabilitation and transformation programme.

The reading of regional reports was often punctuated by the singing of patriotic and revolutionary songs, and the chanting of poetry. These poems were composed in traditional Somali women poetic form, the «Buraanbur» though some new experimental poetic forms were noticeable. The content of these poems were highly revolutionary, many of them dealt not only with issues of patriotism and national unity, but also with questions of class struggle and the need to build and safeguard socialism, the vanguard party etc. The poems and songs portrayed the high levels of political maturity attained by Somali Women since October, 1969. They also reflected the diversity and unity of Somali Culture.

The singing of song and the chanting of artistically composed revolutionary poems gave the Founding Congress an atmosphere of joy, enthusiasm, energy, warmth and jubilation, a sort of Festival mood.

The serious reading of reports and other Congress deliberation were also punctuated by speeches of greetings delivered by the foreign guests present at the Congress. The Congress Secretariat also read out congratulatory

telegrams received from friends at home and abroad.

The Congress set up two committees to study the basic documents of the Congress and to their recommendation. One Committee studied the Programme and another, the Statute for the Somali Women Democratic Organisation. The committees reported back to the Congress a day later, recommending the adoption of the documents. Among these was the amendment to the effect that the name be the Somali Women Democratic Organisation and not simply the Somali Women Organisation as originally proposed. The congress adopted them in unanimity. These documents are commented on in this issue of HALGAN which also carries a comment on the General Report to the congress by Jaalle Faduma Ahmed Alim.

The Congress approved the selection of a 153 member Central Committee for the SWDO. This will be headed by a steering Committee of 14 as follows:

1. Jaalle Fadumo Omar Hashi, member of CC of SRSP, President of SWDO.
2. Jaalle Marian Yussuf Mohamud, First Vice-President.
3. Hawa Kammuldin, Second Vice-President.
4. Sahra Ahmed Sahlan, Secretary of Orientation and propaganda.
5. Jaalle Rakia Haji Duale, Secretary of Education and Training
6. Jaalle Ulumo Abd.rahaman Maallin, Secretary of Mobilisation.
7. Jaalle Dahabo Farah, Secretary of International Relations.

8. Jaalle Madina Mahamed Warsame, Secretary of Arts and Sports.

9. Jaalle Fadumo Barre Yussuf Secretary of Women Protection and Nurseries.

10. Habiba Ali Ahmed, Secretary of Administration.

11. Jaalle Ambaro Hashi Nur, Sec. of Financial and Economic Affairs.

12. Jaalle Nurto Haji Hassan, Chairman of the Control and discipline Committee.

13. Halimo Soofe, Vice-Chairman of the Control and discipline Committee.

14. Jaalle Fadumo Osman Mohamed, member of the Control and Discipline Committee.

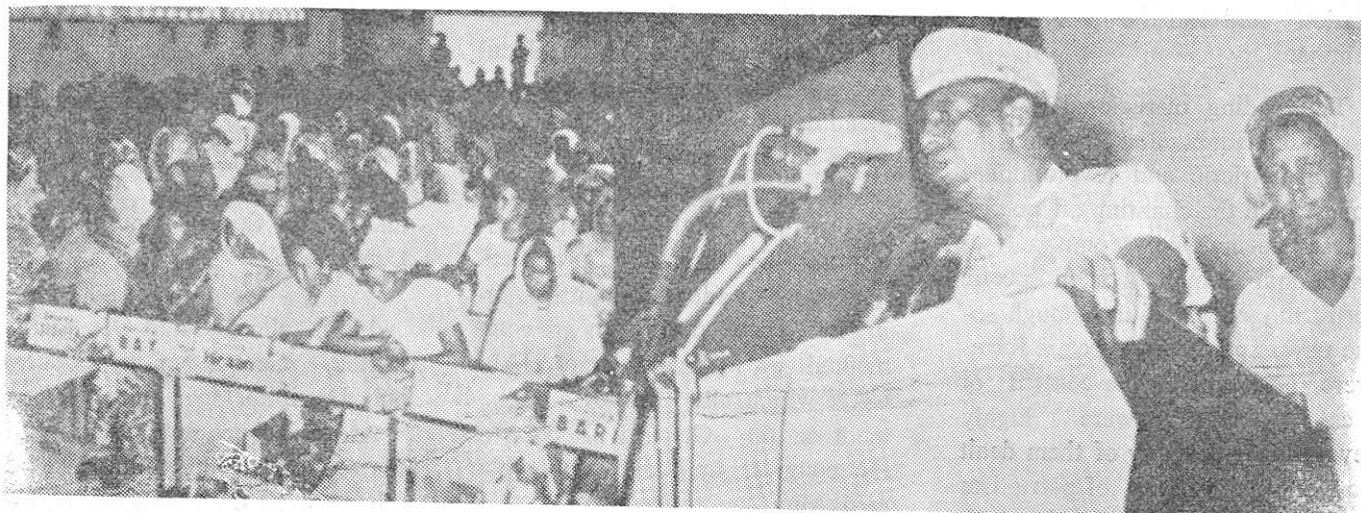
At the concluding session of the Congress, representatives of other social organisations and of the Party and armed forces spoke. The «Young Pioneers» (Ubaxa Kacaanka) paraded before the Congress singing songs specially composed for the occasion. The Secretary-General of the CC of the SRSP also spoke at the concluding session.

March 8th 1977 became a historical day of celebrations for Somali Women. At the National theatre a special programme of art songs was held to mark the Founding of the SWDO; large, newly built Maternity and children's Hospital was opened in Mogadishu, flowers were laid in commemoration of Somali Women heroes. The first Somali Women Pilot women flew over Mogadishu.

Following the Congress, special seminars were held for the women at the conference venue, the police Force Academy in Mogadishu.



# WHEN THE SOCIETY ATTAINS THE TRUE SOCIALIST STATE, THE WOMEN LIKE THE WORKING CLASS ACHIEVE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION,,



Jaallayaal,

I would like to thank the preparatory Committees of the 1st Congress of the Somali Democratic Women's Organisation who have given me this opportunity of addressing this august gathering. Worthy of praise and congratulation are the leaders of the Somali women who selflessly endeavoured to realize the present commendable position conducive to the reorganisation of the Somali women institutions. Furthermore, I would also like to extend warm greetings to the women delegates from the Regions, districts and villages of our country who came here to consciously carry out the responsibilities entrusted upon them by the masses. May 1 also, in this connection, most heartily welcome the

Delegates from friendly countries who took the task of participating in this historic Congress of founding the Somali women organization on a national level. Not for name sake or ornamentation, I call this Congress a historical one; but it is really worthy of the title. This Congress marks a new stage of the Somali women's struggle, a stage that is utterly different in nature in potentiality, power and process than the past stages.

It is not unknown to any citizen, the various stages through which the Somali women's struggle has traversed in the pre-colonial era, during the post-independence and more-over during the Revolutionary era and their magnificent role. In short, a society is com-

pletely inconceivable without taking into account the female sector. They are the ones who give rise to life, and are dedicated to the upbringing of the young generations.

Ever since the ancient societies, with the ensuing and concurrent battles, antagonisms and struggles, the women have always been on the constructive side. They always took charge of herding the livestock, the rearing of children, and the proper management of the family life.

Even when the society has split up into opposing classes comprising of honest workers living on the toil of their labour and the exploiting class, the women were bent on the human side and love



for human respect and human dignity.

The Somali women have never failed to fulfil their historic mission. Prior to the colonisation of our country, when the Somali patriots led by Ahmed Gurey the Somali women were defending the forefront of those battles. And in the just war waged by the Dervishes led by the national hero Sayid Mohamed Abdulla Hassan against the colonial forces, the role of the Scmali Women is well recorded in history. Furthermore, during World War 11 when the independence Parties were struggling against the colonial powers and for the independence and the national unity of our dismembered country, many of us were real witness to the honourable stand taken by the Somali women. If I may go little further, I would rightly say that no victory could have been at all won over our enemies without the appreciable and indispensable role played by the Somali Women. There has, indeed, never been a barricade by the militants in which

the women did not bring all the necessary requisites, nor a warranting news about the enemies man-covers which they did not partake in laying it bare, nor a contribution or donation for the cause of liberation in which they did not substantially subscribe to, nor a spot of bloody confrontation in which they did not risk their lives in.

This is how our independence was won. During the nine years that preceded the Revolution, there is hardly any commendable achievement worthy of recall. Perhaps, one can say that the only thing that could be noted as praise-worthy was if some one, or even for that matter a group of people, have abstained from hindering the progress of the nation by taking a passive stand towards the disservice being meted to the nation. The country has been betrayed; its wealth looted; its people divided and set against each other; everywhere there was deception. All this notwithstanding, yet we challenge anyone to cite a single female example who has manifested treachery and cor-

ruption, or even given up.

In the post Revolution period, the effectiveness of the Somali women's participation, their conviction and dedication is too eloquent for words to tell.

In reviewing how the Somali women came forward to the edification of the Revolution, how relentlessly they faced every risk and blame, I sometimes wonder that the true strength of our Revolution has been the Somali women. On the dawn of the Revolution the vast majority of those who lined up the streets waving the green leaves, congratulating the new move were the women. The construction of the orientation centres in the villages, districts and regions of the country were primarily built by the women's untiring efforts. And even at the present times, it is the women who generate the activities in these quarters. The role of the women also remains unequalled whenever there is a call for a self-help scheme or a campaign of reconstruction. In all the social organizations, there is always a thick collection of them. I am at times perplexed to think if there is if at all a single anti-revolutionary Somali women. How negligible, if at all! How honourous and great is the reward of those that displayed such a glorious duty with such a zeal and undaunting courage. In many occasions and so often they had been paid with ingratitude and undeserved despise. They had been discriminated against; they had been looked down upon; from her birth time the girls are regarded as unequal to the boys; the women are burdened with all the tedious tasks of the family; they are deprived of the right of schooling and education; isolated from partaking in important mee-

tings, never taught any skill worthy of their humanity. Upon reaching adulthood, the girl is forced upon marriage with a stranger against her own will, and who in turn can divorce her on his own whims and desires whenever he feels like, thus leaving her in the wilderness.

As can be testified by this long and bitter history none ever tells her to refrain when joining the bitter struggle for the nation, none tells her to keep her donations when the need arises, none tells her to keep aloof when seeking information of the enemy's tactics and machinations; but whenever she speaks of her emancipation and birth-right all voices cry for loud to remind her that after all she is a woman and should not dare to speak up.

Being honest with ourselves, do our Halimas, Fatimas, Khadijas and all our women deserve such a misdeed from us? Why should we raise the Hassans, Hirsi, and Mohnams above them? Have they not been borne by the same mother and born in nine months all? Why should the schooling be shut on their faces, which the sons are enthused and assisted to enjoy? Why should they be kept impoverished of higher skill, which our sons attend to acquire?

Such repressive measures against the women is part and parcel of the general exploitation and oppression based on class.

When this problem is comprehensively understood, and the society is transformed into the socialist stage, then only are the women, like the working class, completely emancipated. Only then can they enjoy both equality and justice. Since women are fully aware of the direction of progress

of society, they are always on the side that works for the betterment of their living conditions, for upholding their human rights. That is why they fully support the Revolution, the working class as their ally, and the socialist system as their guide.

In the Capitalist countries, where a big wedge is drawn between the working class and the women, where the women are isolated from the class struggle by all sorts of devices and deceptions, where they are denied every right, where they are ironically told they possess everything, where they are considered as an instrument of comfort and sexual pleasure, where they are regarded as a beautiful portrait to admire, the progressive women are often affected with confusion and dismay which knows no bounds. Then they wage a war that is far from class nature. They struggle against all their male partner, both justly and unjustly. They go against all and sundry, both those who are with them and those who are their real exploiters under the mistaken concept of «feminism», their catch-word being «O women .... it is only you to unite expecting no hand from any body else...»

We believe that this dilemma could be solved. Socialism offers the right solution. It is the only system that correctly appraised the different problems and difficulties being encountered. It is the only system that equates both men and women. It is the only system that shuns and fights against all forms of discrimination of whatever nature. It is the only system that rejects and rebuffs aggression and leads the society into genuine social justice. Ever since the inception of the 21st Oc-

tober Revolution we labouriously sought to achieve **equality for women**, just as we sought to bring medical care and welfare for all, education and freedom from want for all, and to restore human dignity for all the members of our society.

How much has been realized? Although everything has not been attained as yet, we can proudly say we have achieved a great deal. The first measure has been that loud call urging women to come forward, to leave those dark quarters to which they had been confined; to forgo false ornamentation and to rally their forces behind the Revolution, to work for the upholding of the Revolution, to nurse it, to rear it, and to strengthen the Revolution that seeks nothing but to serve their interests and that of Somali masses. It should always be borne in mind that the Revolution is constantly being endangered by those that aim at attacking your rights and at worsening your living conditions these are colonialism, reaction, the big gluttonous bourgeoisie, the false religious men, and the self-centred opportunists. They all have to be checked.

Because «If you are not alert you will be swept by the tide. The infidels will thrash upon you at their thresholds. Unsane it is to lay beds for those who harness hatred for your country,

The blaze I set aflame Is for your salvation.

Subsequent to this step was that all the schools throughout the country were opened for all on an equal footing, rendering complete encouragement to the female youngsters. Both boys and girls were

for the first time given co-education, with the same uniform, the same text book, the same examination and the same care and consideration.

In another field, which is that of games and sports, both sexes have been given equal opportunity & this has enabled the Somali girl to even win trophies in International Sports competitions. Locally there is not a single spot where the girls does not enjoy the same footing in the field of sport whether by way of training or competition as her male counter-part. In fact, the Somali girls has attained a standard in this field which many countries often eye with envy. As for the social rights, the Somali Women have been put on an equal footing with the men as regards work, wages and leave. Maternity privileges are also granted in full to the Somali woman. The problems of marriage, divorce and inheritance had been among the hardest ones to tackle. This has been due to the age-old traditions and obsolete customs that governed the society for a long time. However, this has also been successfully put right, and the Somali women have today a family statute that in every way defends their rights.

Highlighting all these progressive measure, was the founding of the Somali Revolutionary socialist Party, in which the Somali women have unflinchingly worked to bring into light. I must admit that their praise worthy contribution has been due to the oppression and discrimination they had been subjected to. Their growing consciousness, owing to the oppression, made them aware that the Party is right. I am not betraying

a secret, if I am to assure you that the female members among founders of the SRSP Party exceeds 50% . They have deserved it rightly for they worked for it and every one is witness to that fact.

At this stage, despite the sincere efforts and forward march, yet in the absence of an organization that pools together ideas and activities; it is evident that our forces would be scattered and partially wasted through such notions as «I will do things as I deem right, and what I say is the right thing». Thus it became imperative to lay the foundation for social organizations at a national level as has been outlined by the SRSP. These social organizations include: The Workers organization, the women organization, and the youth organization. These are the reserve army of our political Party. These social organizations are the ones entrusted with the heavy task of implementing the Party's principles, the propagation of its theory, and the education of its cadres.

Although the foundation of the social organizations is a matter of vital importance to the promotion of our society, the first to be established is the national womens' organizations, in which we have the honour to be present today. We are confident that the establishment of the womens' organizations will render their role more effectively, their organization more apt, and their task more fruitful, because they are the sources of our society and every member owes them due debts and obligation on account of birth and lineal heritage. Today that their organization has been founded, the immensity of their role and their potentiality is indeed immeasurable.

Since the duty of the women's organization is not confined to the promotion of one sector of the society, but is an active participant of the global development of society I can rightly state that their role is tri-folded: First of all the women's organization has to struggle for the defence of the Revolution, the implementation of the principles of the revolution and the further strengthening of the consolidation of the main objectives of the Party in a form Compatible with the present conditions. The programme of the Party and its constitution ought to be safeguarded, promoted and taught to every conscientious citizen who should imbibe them and understand them thoroughly. The women should also actively participate in the increase of the national production for the overall development of our society. It goes without saying that the development of our economy is based upon the promotion of our production which in its turn depends on self-sacrifice and hard fruitful labour. Indeed, our women can never be limited to the art of beautification at the present circumstances. We are sure this stage is attainable but it is not the opportune time for them now. Presently, it is the time for hard determination, the time for sacrifice, for the common interest of our people. It is, in short, the period when we should look up to the women in the socialist countries and the example they rightly set for us by way of their dedication and devotion for the furtherance of the cause of the society as a whole.

The National organization of the Somali women is now faced with the ultimate task of fulfilling

its sacred mission in a manner most becoming of their true personality. Allow me to reiterate this so that a lesson is rightly driven home: Work not performed is production foregone. So that every woman is enabled to fulfill her function, the organization of the Somali Women ought to be well equipped and well structured.

In this context, the most effective weapon is her revolutionary education. Those of them who have already attained a certain level should be improved and taught the specific conditions in which we live, and the rest should be brought to the essential stage of comprehending our national objectives.

Comrades, missed education means lost cadre, a step to the rear. This education need not necessarily be in the sphere of politics, it also exhibits itself in the serious promotion of the rural areas, the continuation of mass illiteracy campaign or for that matter the improvement of the lot of the ordinary Somali family. Until this time, we are not honestly sufficient in the female type-writers, not to speak of our dire need for doctors, nurses, teachers, sports women, and those who should raise our economies to the desired effect.

All these deficiencies can be aptly overcome by strictly adhering and abiding faithfully to the constitution and the programme of the Party. The women organization, we are sure, can realise all this by their collaboration with the youth and workers organization and their strict adherence to the party norms and principles in every quarter and district.

Comrades, it is in collectivity that lies our strength. No single finger can wash a whole face, as the Somali saying goes. The social organizations should be united should work together and should be linked to the party whole heartedly.

It is only through this way that we can overcome our enemy, can win over the misled, can thwart the opponent and check the arrogant opportunist who is driven by personal unlimited greed.

This should never be absent from our minds in whatever circumstances. In our potentially rich country which needs only to be developed, there are those greedy individuals whose appetites ever remain unsatiated, who seek to discourage and demoralize others, who incite them to flee the

country for better wages. Honestly speaking, these are the ones who serve their own avaricious gains in a form worse than the bourgeoisie, because the bourgeoisie, although standing for their materialist gains yet they try to capitalize within their country itself, unlike these naive, mean and enimical elements.

It is an undisputable fact, that these people will creep on their knee tomorrow when they see that new gains and horizons have been realised. Be aware, dear comrades, from these enimical elements. Make sure that they are not among your sons, your relatives and they should have no relationship whatsoever with you.

The National Somali Women's organization should struggle to win over to their side all the elements they can win for the cause of the Revolution through whichever method is deemed opportune and suitable, be it by way of orientation or education etc.

Comrades, allow me once again to extend my heartfelt gratitude to all those who partook in the preparation of this Congress and all those who participated in its process and success.

## SOMALI WOMENS' REPORT

At the Founding Congress of the Somali Women's Democratic Organisation, a General Report on Somali Women was presented. This brief article hopes to capture some of the highlights of that report.

The General Report depicts the historical role of Somali Women from a revolutionary perspective. It

puts the question of Women within the general framework of the problems facing our society as a whole. It does not accept the attempt to deal with women issues without a real socio-economic and historical context.

The Report surveys the historical role played by Somali women

*By Fadumo Axmed Alim*

during the pre-colonial era. The role women played in the pre-colonial mode of production largely determined their cultural and social role. The coming of imperialism, the partition and colonisation of Somalia introduced forms of class and racial exploitation that engendered inequality thereby the situa-

tion of women worsened. Particular examples are cited i.e the cases of forced-labour settlements.

Somali women therefore came to understand the need for a struggle against imperialism. They came to constitute an important resource for nationalist political parties such as the Somali Youth League founded in 1943. In the anti-colonial struggle of January 11th 1948, Somali Women played heroic roles as symbolized by the death on that day of Somali woman agitator, Hawa Osman «Taako».

Political independence in 1960, did not lead to genuine socio-economic liberation. Instead, an era of capitalist oriented opportunism prevailed, women lost the promising gains earned during the nationalist struggles. Patriotic women played important roles in the activities that exposed the neo-colonial regimes.

The coming of the October 21st 1969 Revolution opened up a new chapter in the history of Somali women. Women were now free encouraged to participate in the constructive task connected with the Revolution. They played an active role in the campaigns against tribalism, the campaigns for peace and security. The 1970 declaration that the Somali Revolution will be guided by the theory of Scientific Socialism, further strengthened the need to organise Somali women in order to liberate them as they help to liberate their society from neo-colonialism and underdevelopment.

Somali women played active roles in the various self-help projects, construction of centres, schools, hospitals, roads, irrigation canals,

sand dune control etc. In carrying out these tasks, they came to earn the respect of their society as a whole. They also gained self-confidence, political and organisational maturity.

By 1972, the Political Office of the Presidency of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, became highly involved in the task of mobilizing and organizing Somali workers, youth and women. All over the country, orientation centres were set-up, in these women's committees played prominent roles. Thus mobilized, Somali women came to participate as juries, as community leaders and so forth.

Seminars and training projects were undertaken to improve their knowledge and skills. They were thus better prepared to contribute to the Rural Development and literacy Campaign. 5000 women participated as literacy campaign instructors. About 426,192 women (mainly in rural areas) became literate as a result of this campaign. Somali women won international recognition for their contribution, the Women's International Democratic Federation awarded them the «Krupskaya» Silver Medal in Lisbon, November 1976.

Somali women have made great gains in education and employment. They are now also able to work in jobs that were previously barred from them. During 1968-69, the total number of students was 38,439 out of which 8,253 only were women. The figures for 1975-76 show that out of a total of 226,563 students, 176,588 are female; out of a total teacher population of 5,553, women teachers number 1,195. Rapid increases are noted at the level of secondary and university education.

A Socialist revolution pays great heed to the question of involving women in production. Various agricultural projects have increased possibilities for women, also the armed forces and administration etc.

Progressive labour legislation has been enacted to facilitate for working mothers. This matter is linked to that of nurseries and better health care, all these are tasks to be promoted by the SWDO. Somali women have also come to play prominent roles in sports and the arts as a result of possibilities facilitated by the Revolution.

The revolutionary Marriage and Family law enacted in 1972 paved the way for greater equality in matters involving marriage, divorce and inheritance.

The General Report also reviews the international activities of Somali women. They have held meetings and demonstrations in support of their international friends fighting against imperialism, colonialism neo-colonialism, Apartheid, Racism, Zionism, fighting for peace, progress under socialism. Somali women play an active role in such organisations as the pan-African Women Organisation, the general organisation of Arab Women, the women International Democratic Federation and the Afro-Asian peoples Solidarity Organisation. They have participated in various international gatherings. During 1975, declared International women's Year, they hosted a Pan-African Women's Conference in preparation for the Mexico-City and Berlin gatherings. They participated actively at the Mexico United Nations sponsored International women's Year Conference. Somalia was chosen among

the five nations that prepared the original draft of the «Mexico Declaration on International Women's Year» adopted in July 1975. During October, 1975 at the Berlin world Congress on International women's year, Somalia served as the rapporteur for the First Commission and was among the five nations chosen to read a general declaration over world-wide television. Somalia is also an executive Bureau member of WIDF. These and

other activities have given Somali women greater political maturity and experience.

Somali women have played prominent role in connection with the founding of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party in July, 1976. 63 per cent of the founding members of the SRSP are women. SRSP cells register women activists as 75 per cent of their total; the figures are 60 per cent and 40 per cent respectively for party organs

at the district and regional levels.

The Third Session of the CC of the SRSP decided wisely to set up mechanisms that would facilitate the further development of revolutionary mass organisation following the establishment of our vanguard Party. The General Report read at the Founding Congress of the SWDO places this decision and its implementation within its concrete historical context.

## A COMMENTARY PROGRAMME ON THE SWDO AND STATUTE

By Sahra Salhaan, Secretary of Information and Propaganda of the SWDO.

This article presents a brief overview of the programme and statute adopted at the founding congress of the Somali Women Democratic Organisation.

The Programme has a condensed historical perspective. It summarises the world situation, the situation in Africa and in Somalia in order to present a concrete analysis of the struggles & objectives of Somali women. The method of analysis and the principles proclaimed in the Programme are those of scientific Socialism as applied to fit our conditions. The Programme recalls the progressive international Democratic federation, founded in Paris, November 1975. The WIDF today helps to coordinate the activities of over 250 million women in over 100 countries. The progressive democratic struggle for women's rights led to, for example, the United Nations declaring 1975 as International Women's Year. The Programme discusses the struggles of African & Arab women within the con-

text of the progressive international women movement.

The historical synopsis of Somali women's struggles follows & this leads up to the October 1969 Revolution and the formation of the section of the Women's Political Office of SRC. Branches were formed all over the country & these laid the foundation for the present SWDO. The tasks carried out between 1969 and 1977 include the following:

1. Raising women's political consciousness.
2. The mobilization and organisation of women efforts.
3. The preparations for establishing a Somali women's Organisation.
4. Implementation and consolidation of scientific socialist ideology.
5. Achievement of a progressive marriage and family code.

6. Realization of women development in economic affairs.

The programme of the SWDO goes on to spell out Somali women objectives within the framework of the SRSP, in matters of the economy, internal & external affairs & in social matters. In economic affairs it places emphasis on fulfilling the objectives of national economic planning and in supporting effectively the establishments of all types of cooperative societies. A major task for the SWDO is that of mobilizing and preparing house-wives for productive employment.

The SWDO will struggle to increase the political awareness of its members. It will prepare cadres for the SRSP as well as function as a popular base linking the SRSP with the revolutionary masses. It will put emphasis on the propagation of scientific socialist ideology among Somali women. It will struggle to unite Somali women & to free those still under the

yoke of colonialism. It will struggle against opportunism, corruption, tribalism, nepotism, bureaucratism etc. The SWDO will urge its members to increase production. It will propagate the principle & practice of Democratic Centralism.

In foreign affairs, the SWDO Programme supports the principles of socialist internationalism. It condemns imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, Apartheid & Zionism. It expresses support for all those struggling for liberation such as the people of Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe & the Arab people of Palestine. The SWDO will strengthen relations with progressive women organisations everywhere particularly with those in Socialist countries

Turning to Social affairs, the programme talks of the need to strengthen the implementation of the new revolutionary marriage and family code; the need to expand the establishment of nurseries; to strengthen women's partici-

pation in a permanent literacy campaign & to achieve greater progress in women education & employment at all levels.

The SWDO pledges to struggle against evil social practices (gamboling, delinquency etc). It plans to spare no efforts to raise the health standards of women & children. The SWDO will cooperate with other social organisations in carrying out its tasks.

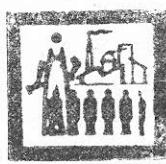
This then, is a brief highlight on the salient aspects of the SWDO Programme.

The SWDO statute or constitution explains the role of the organisation as one of the leading social organisations that link the masses with the SRSP. The statute lays the aims and structure of the SWDO. The congress is the crucial institution to be held once every three years. The congress elects the National Committee which elects the Steering Committee (or Executive Bureau) and the Central Committee for Inspection and Control. The SWDO is to ha-

ve Regional & District organs as well as branches at village and neighbourhood levels. The SWDO will utilise the principles of democratic centralism, lower organs reporting systematically to higher organs etc. The SWDO is open to any Somali women provided she accepts its programme & statute, has reached 18 years of age and pays her entrance & membership fees. An application for membership to be addressed to any SWDO cell which will discuss & vote on the admission of a new member.

The statute of the SWDO summarises aims & objectives of the organisation. These have essentially been covered in discussing the programme, accordingly we should avoid repeating them.

The SWDO symbol consists of a woman bearing a child while holding a hoe on one hand & a gun on the other. The hoe symbolises the need to increase production while the gun symbolizes the need to be ready to defend the country & the Revolution.



## PROBLEMS OF DAILY LIFE

### SHORTAGE OF TRANSPORT IN HAMAR

Hamar is the other name for the historical city of Mogadishu, the capital of the Somali Democratic Republic.

Hamar is an ancient city that used to exist as an independent city — state. It has come under the influence of various regimes; it experienced both Italian and British colonialism.

Hamar is a fast - growing city. The Revolution of 1969 has placed Hamar's development under a planned scheme. The city now has beautiful paved roads, historical monuments, public gardens; it is a well-lighted city supplied with clean water. It is considered to be one of the cleanest cities in Africa.

The expansion in the sheer size and population of the city (currently over 300,000 inhabitants) has caused a great strain on its transportation system. Hamar today counts a number of new far-flung districts such as Karan, Wadajir ,Yaqshid, Medina etc.

Hamar is a lively city — people going to work, to visit friends, to hospitals, to schools, to adult schools, to cinemas, to the theatres etc. These activities require regular cheap means of transport. Insufficient transport causes work delays, worries and difficulties, especially during the hot period of the year.

#### THE BUS SECTOR:

Hamar's transportation system includes a public bus services sector. In 1972, 12 buses were imported bringing them to a total of 32, but only 16 of them are functioning at present. The administration concerned declared that 50 more buses have been ordered, 25 of which will be delivered soon. In future, they plan to run bus services in shifts, 25 buses for early shift. This sector needs to be vastly expanded and dependable services covering all main city routes and districts.

#### THE TAXI SECTOR:

Hamar had 772 taxis, presently only 700 are functioning, the rest are in workshops for lack of spare parts. FIAT Company has been nationalized. The new Agency vehicles and spare parts is still suffering from problems of infancy. Much has to be done to ensure the importation of adequate transport means and their repair parts.

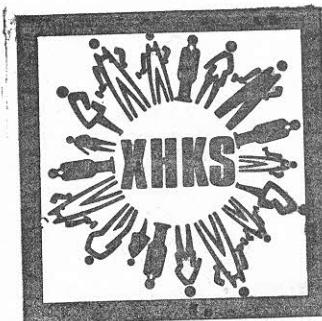
The manager of the Taxi Co-operative claims that the problem is due to logistics, while working people crowd along the major roads, fleets of Tax.'s may be observed at their pools such as at Shabele or Ceelgaab. He claims that Shabab is the only district that has balanced transport. The other districts of the city must make efforts

to achieve self-sufficiency. It is also necessary for the bus-sector, to arrange its services in order to relieve transport pressures during rush hours.

#### MINISTRY AND AGENCY FOR TRANSPORT:

It is also important for all government Ministries and Agencies to realize the role they have to play in relieving this mass problem. They have to use their transport vehicle funds to secure the benefit of the many and not the few. Various agencies with means to buy big passenger vehicles have bought beautiful small cars which can only benefit the few heads of such establishments. This practice needs to be examined, criticized and changed.

- (a) The public bus system needs to be expanded in a systematic planned way.
- (b) The logistic of transport rush hours, districts, routes and times — must be carefully scrutinized and reorganized.
- (c) Agencies and Ministries must realize their role of securing social transport, not luxury cars for a few.
- (d) Traffic and other regulations must be re-examined and enforced to guarantee public safety in our fastly expanding city.



# PARTY LIFE

## THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE SOMALI WOMEN ORGANISATION

The First Congress for the Foundation of the Somali Women Democratic Organization started in Mogadishu on the 8th March 1977. This date also coincides with the International Women's Day. A day of great historical significance, when the inalienable rights and social status of women was inevitably recognized.

The Congress chaired by Maryan Yusuf adopted a constitution of 21 articles. Delegates from all over the country read their report in the Congress. Among the topics discussed in the Congress were; the necessity of the formation of the Organization, strengthening women cooperation in opposition in opposition against all acts hindering the march of the Revolution, promoting women's handicraft cooperatives, safeguarding and fulfilling the family law and in general their role in the economic self-sufficiency that Somalia is striving for.

The Congress also heard speeches of Congratulation from the delegates of women organization of the socialist countries and other progressive women organizations. Among the congratulators were also representatives from the Somali Youth organization, workers, armed forces and Victory Pioneers.

In the closing ceremony of the foundation of the Somali



Women Democratic Organization, the Secretary General of S.R.S.P. Jaaalle Mohamed Siad Barre delivered a speech complimenting the Somali Women for the enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit revealed during the Congress.

He pointed out the great role played by Somali Women in the struggle for independence will for ever be depicted on the pages of Somali history. This martyrdom is epitomized by Hawo Osman Tako in the hands of the colonialists. In this revolutionary era the recognition of the Somali women's rights is evidenced by their participation in all spheres of government administration, promulgation of the family law and favourable employment opportunities given to them. In

an earlier speech Siad «The Somali Women in this revolutionary era play a major role from national construction to carrying the gun for the country's defence, tilling the land to house keeping .... When I declare this we have in mind that freedom must be built from the family base. The home must be liberated, women must be emancipated, children must be freed, the society must be built from the base. Everything has a foundation, society needs building from the base. The Somali Revolution has broken the last chains of serfdom and exploitation from the Somali women in the belief that no society, however advanced can achieve all-round lasting progress when at least half of its members (Women folk) are tethered under oppressive social conditions.

# The Conference on Workers and Peasants

## Alliance of Western Region

Alliance of Workers and Peasants opened in the town of Hargeisa, the capital of the North-Western Region on the 21st of February, 1977.

This Conference, was attended by 2000 representatives from Cooperatives small peasants, social organisations, heads of ministries and agencies of the North-Western Region. The delegates delivered about 80 reports in which they discussed about what has been done and should be done for the development of the country.

This successful Conference ended after six days. The Chairman of the Cooperatives Bureau of the Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, Jaalle Warsame Abdillaahi Ali and the Chairman of the Agricultural Bureau of the Central Committee of the SRSP, Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Duale attended the Conference.

Jaalle Warsame, who closed the Conference emphasised the significance of workers and peasants alliance in strengthening the foundation of the SRSP.

Jaalle Ahmed Mohamed Duale spoke about the importance of agriculture and livestock in the development of national

economy.

Jaalle Bile Rafle, member of CC of SRSP and Secretary of SRSP for North-Western Region talked on the good organisation of the Conference and how constructively delega-

tes participated.

The Conference was concluded with the issuing of 37 points which concern the development of the economy, investments in agricultural and the promotion of cooperatives.

## THE 1ST CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS ALLIANCE OF SANAG REGION.

The 1st Conference of the Workers and Peasants Alliance of Sanag region took place in the orientation centre «October» a subdistrict in Erigabo, ended on the 18th of March.

The Conference which lasted three days involved 2,000 representatives from workers, peasants, women, youth organisations and agriculture, frankin-

cense, fishing and petty - traders cooperatives.

The members of the conference discussed issues which included the increase of production in agriculture, live-products and commerce.

They issued 19 points which discussed the development of the region and the nation as a whole.

## CC INSPECTION OF THE REGIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The Central Committee of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party met in an extraordinary session on the 24th of March. The session was concluded with resolutions for the formation of social organizations for Women, Workers and Youth, consequently delegates led by the members of the Central Committee of the SRSP went to different regions of the country. The objectives of sending the delegates are outlined in the Programme of the Somali

Revolutionary Socialist Party.

We are all aware that for several months now, party Committees of the regions and districts were in operation. Accordingly, the delegates were also assigned to go to the regions to inspect how Party work is going on.

The delegates will inspect how the work of national is

*(Continued to page 43)*



## WORLD AFFAIRS

# THE CONFERENCE OF AFRICAN AND ARAB HEAD OF STATES

The first Conference of African and Arab Head of states and Governments was held in Cairo during March 7-9. 1977. Even during the preliminary meetings of the Foreign ministers, the imperialist media tried either to ignore or undermine the forthcoming Conference.

Time will disclose the full implications of this historic gathering. In any case the present assessment is that the Conference was very successful in that it has strengthened Afro-Arab anti-imperialist Solidarity.

The meeting has resulted from the need to solidify the united front against Israeli aggression in the north and the domination of the apartheid racist regimes in the South.

Among the important resolutions of the Conference we may list the following:-

### (A) ON ECONOMIC ISSUES.

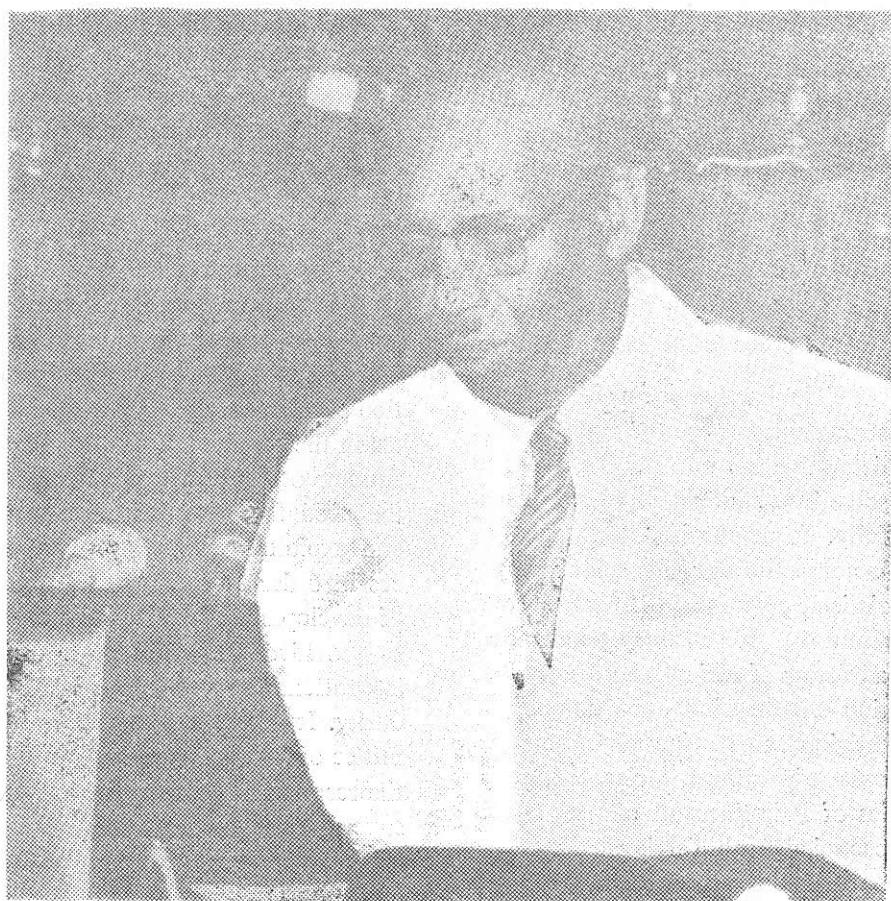
The oil-rich Arab States promised to assist the development of African economies by extending financial aid amounting to 10,499 million Dollars.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia will provide 1000 million dollars, Kuwait 240 million dollars, Qatar 77 million dollars and the United Arab Emirates 135 million dollars. Kuwait also declared an allotment of 200

million dollars for low interest loans to African States through bilateral channels. Kuwait also increased its contribution to the Arab Fund, it will also add ten million dollars to its deposit in the African Development Bank based in Abidjan. Various important technical projects being undertaken

in African countries will receive Kuwait funds to the tune of 10 million dollars. Kuwait and Qatar will contribute one million dollars each to African Liberation Movements.

The United Arab Emirates declared its intention to add 100 million dollars to the Abu-Dhabai Fund for Afri-



ican Development, at the same time it will increase its share in the Arab Fund for African Development, it will deposit 10 million dollars in the African Development Bank and will reserve another 5 million dollars for special research projects within African countries.

**B) — On Political Issues.**

The Conference adopted a strong declaration upholding the policy of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, the establishment of just bilateral relations between states encompassing equal and fair trade and economic relations, respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

The Conference also declared strong support for the right of self-determination and for the need to solve international problems peacefully. It emphasised the need to increase the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, Apartheid and Zionism. It strongly condemned all forms of racism and discrimination whether based on colour or religion as experienced by the peoples of Southern Africa, the peoples of Palestine and of the Israeli occupied Arab Territories.

The Conference expressed full support for African and Arab peoples, with special emphasis on the just struggle of the peoples of Palestine, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and the French Somali Coast (Jibuti).

The Meeting condemned imperialist racist military, political and economic aggression committed in open violation of the national sovereignty of African and Arab states, for example, the aggression against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, and of course Israeli

attacks against Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon.

The Conference called for an increase in both material and moral support for those states constantly endangered by imperialist attacks and also for the mobilisation of all efforts intended to isolate economically and politically the unjust regimes of Israel, South-Africa and Rhodesia.

The meeting also discussed the question of mercenaries employed by imperialists against African and Arab States and recommended practical steps to be taken to resolve the problems.

**C) — An Afro-Arab Co-operation Programme.**

The Conference also issued a broad programme involving economic and other aspects of cooperation between Arab and African States in the form of a long-term plan. Among other things it points to the need for the joint exploration and exploitation of natural resources in order to reach higher levels of development. The Conference also provided ways and means of institutionalising Afro-Arab Solidarity. It set up a permanent Committee of 24 ministers charged with the responsibility of facilitating and supervising the implementation of the decisions. A part of this Committee will be chosen through the mechanism of the organization of African Unity and the other part through that of the Arab League; the committee will meet twice a year. A full-scale meeting of ministers of Arab and African countries will be held at least once in every 18 months.

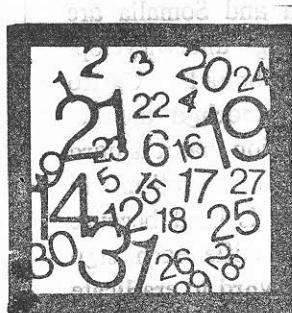
The future success of this cooperation depends on the seriousness with which African and Arab leaders assume their responsibilities. The objective development of the past and the present have created

the need for such anti-imperialist cooperation.

The historical basis of such cooperation are well-known. There is a common Afro-Arab geography. In the course of historical developments, trade links came to be established between the Arab and African worlds; and these links went hand in hand with cultural and religious ties. Imperialism worked hard against such historical links while pursuing its policy of divide and rule. During the struggle for self-determination, Arab and African Liberation movements supported one another. Present dangers have increased the need for cooperation. Israel penetration of Africa has gone hand in hand with its policy of alliance with the apartheid regime in South Africa. Afro-Arab Solidarity reached its peak in the early seventies when most of African states severed their diplomatic relations with Israel.

A number of African and Arab leaders have worked hard to create a tangible basis of cooperation and solidarity. Jaalle Mohamed Siyad Barre, the Secretary General of the SRSP has pioneered for the realisation of the Afro-Arab cooperation. At the 11th OAU Summit held in Mogadishu in 1974, Jaalle Siyad raised to hold such a Conference and campaigned hard for its realisation during the term of his chairmanship of the O.A.U. Upon his return from this historic Afro-Arab gathering in Cairo, the Secretary General of SRSP confidently described the growing successes of the conference, the strong basis for future cooperation and collaboration of African and Arab people against imperialism, for peace, progress and development.

He emphasised that these successes were achieved inspite of the manoeuvres of the imperialists,



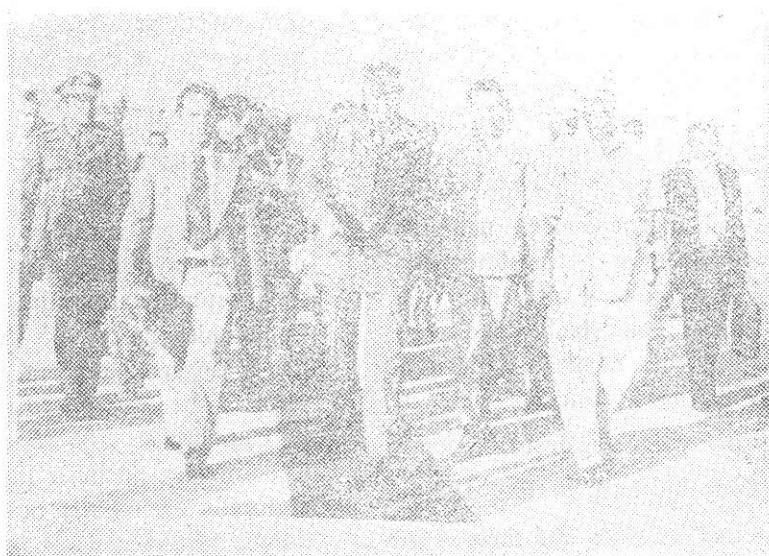
## MONTHLY BULLETIN

# CASTRO VISITS S D R

The First Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party, President of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of Republic of Cuba, Comrade Fidel Castro, paid an official friendly visit to Somalia from 21th to 14th of March at the invitation of Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, Secretary General of the SRSP and President of the Somali Democratic Republic.

Born in Biran, a town in the Orient Province on the 13th of August 1926, Comrade Castro received his early education in a rural school, continued his higher studies in Santiago de Cuba City and ended his formal education as a doctor of Law in Havana University.

At an early age he began to read the writings of Jose Marti, the Apostle of Cuban struggle for Independence which shaped his revolutionary will to struggle for the freedom of the Cuban people. In 1948 together with other students, he organized the Latin American Students' Congress that was held in Bogota,



Colombia. In 1953 he began to organize the people's armed struggle against the Batista regime and invaded the Moncada headquarters in Santiago de Cuba City in July the same year. Unfortunately he was arrested and in a famous trial while explaining the objectives, programme and the ultimate victory of the Cuban people's struggle, coined out the historical phrase «History will absolve me». The Batista tyranny released Comrade Castro and together with others he emigrated to Mexico where again he organized a group of revolutionaries to wage a

guerilla war against the Batista regime. In 1956 they made the historic Granma expedition and landed at the Sierra Miestra where they began a long guerilla war which ended with a victory on the 1st of January 1959. Since then Comrade Castro led the Cuban people's struggle against imperialism and for the construction of Socialism.

During his stay in Somalia, Jaalle Castro and Siad had discussion on several issues concerning the problems of national liberation movements, the mutual friendship of the two count-

ries and the new strategies and tactics Imperialism has come out with to stifle the progressive forces of the «Third World». Both leaders appreciated each other's struggle for the progress of his people and exchanged experiences on the construction of Socialism. Comrade Castro and his delegation toured around important places in the Banadir and Lower Shabelle region. He expressed his admiration and that of the Cuban people for the substantial progress since the 21st October 1969 revolution in the consolidation of genuine national independence and the democratic transformation of Somali society. On the other hand Jaalle Siad praised with admiration the stubborn resistance of the Cuban people against the economic blockade of the U.S.A. and its allies and their prac-

tical solidarity with the liberation movements as the case of Angola.

Both parties condemned the inhuman practices of apartheid, the minority rule in South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, French colonialism in Jibuti and called for the intensification of the armed struggle. Both sides agreed that, to get international peace and security, it is necessary to end all oppression and war propaganda and instead initiate detente which ushers a peaceful development to socialism.

The visits of head of States, with whom we share common struggle and goals deepens and crystalizes the existing mutual relationship. The Communist Party of Cuba has a longer history and therefore richer experience than its counterpart the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. Naturally each party has its unique history and condition

but always experience determines and plays a significant role. Cuba and Somalia are both fighting underdevelopment and Comrade Castro has already reached the Sound Conclusion that it is hard to implement socialism in this case. It is hard because imperialists stifle each step we move foward to eradicate the system of dependence it has moulded for so long. We need the assistance and solidarity of older socialist States in our struggle against reactionaries both within and without our countries. The alliance of the progressive forces of Cuba and Somali disturbs the imperialists and every reactionary while it creates confidence and gives impetus to the progressive forces, the vanguard of peace, justice and progress. Long live the Cuban and Somali friendship

## PRESIDENT NUMEIRY VISITS SOMALIA



The president of the Democratic Republic of Sudan H. E. Gaafar Mohamed Numeiry made an official visit to the SDR, between 17th and 20th of March in response to an invitation extended to him by the president of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare,

The two presidents had successful talks conducted in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. The talks were

concerned with the need of the two brotherly nations for cooperating at national, regional, and international levels. While discussing questions of bilateral relations, both parties noted with satisfaction that those relations have proceeded smoothly and expressed the need for a further expansion of mutual cooperation in the fields of politics, economy, trade and culture. They also agreed to strengthen the relations between the two Parties, the SRSP and the SSU and the social organizations.

Furthermore, they expressed satisfaction with the agreement reached between the two governments concerning the implementation of technical cooperation programme between the two countries.

The two presidents discussed the Red Sea issue and reaffirmed the need for the states bordering the Red Sea to work out a clear-cut formula to safeguard the security of the area from international rivalry and Zionist designs. The two presidents were of the opinion that the security of the Red Sea is

not isolated from the security of the two nations, the nations bordering the area and the world at large. They expressed the view that peace on the Red Sea is linked with that of the Indian Ocean which should be a peaceful zone free from dangerous weapons and strategic designs in compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations and the Non-aligned Conferences.

Jaalle Siad expressed his appreciation of president Numeiry's initiatives on the matter. Moreover, the two presidents agreed to have regular consultations on all matters relating to the issue. «The crisis in the Horn of Africa stemmed from the nature of colonial legacy in the area, since colonialism divided the region without any regard to the nationality, sovereignty and rights of the people for self determination» maintained the two presidents.

Both presidents condemned the inhuman acts, and the atrocities being committed against some of the peoples inhabiting the Horn of Africa in contravention of the UN and OAU charters as

well as the charters of other Islamic organizations.

They condemned the policy of oppression and deportation by French colonialism in the French colonised Somali coast which is geared towards altering the national entity of the Region. The leaders pointed out that such acts will invite the further intervention of foreign forces into the area and requested world nations and the OAU member states in particular to condemn and oppose these steps, and to safeguard the peace of the people in the region.

Speaking to press-men shortly before his departure president Numeiry declared that the purpose of his visit was to exchange views with president Siad on matters of mutual benefit to the Arab and African states. «I have witnessed the radical transformation made by the Somali people since my previous visit, and I confirm that the Somali people, under the genuine leadership of the October 21, 1960 Revolution, have today achieved a considerable political, economic and social development» president Numeiry declared.

## The Taiz mini - summit

The President of Somalia, Jaalle Mohamed siad Barre, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Jaalle Salim Rubeya, the Yemen Arab Republic, Mr. Ibrahim Al-hamdi and Sudan Mr. J. Numeiry, held a meeting in

Taiz (Y. A. R.) on the 23rd of March 1977.

The presidents discussed issues concerning the development of the economic and cultural cooperation of their States. They also dis-

cussed important matters which have special significance to the sovereignty of their respective States. Important of all they agreed upon that, the Red Sea should be a zone of peace and they came to an agree-

ment towards the implementation of this objective. This included the creation of joint technical Committee for the common exploitation of the resources by the countries bordering the Red Sea. They also called for a political and economic independence of the French Colonised Soma-

li Coast. The leaders promised to increase their efforts to hold other meetings which will include all nations bordering the Red Sea.

On his return from the Summit the General Secretary of the SRSP and President of the S.D.R. in an in-

terview with newsmen said that the objective of the Summit was to discuss the possibilities of turning the Red Sea into a peace zone and economic problems encountered by some Arab nations because of the increased oil prices.

## The first Afro - Arab summit

The First Afro-Arab summit wound up early March this year and came up with a crucial programme based on the solidarity and co-operation between the two parties. The leaders came from 60 countries, including most of the third world's major oil and raw material producers. The programme encompasses aid of almost 1.5 billion dollars to the African countries. A draft of final declaration was worked out during an Afro-ministerial meeting last year in the Senegalese capital of Dakar. It condemns imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and apartheid policies and especially the racial and religious discrimination taking place in southern Africa, Palestine and the occupied Arab territories. The draft also pledged continued political, diplomatic, material and moral support to African and Arab liberation movements recognized by both the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Arab League. On financial cooperation, it provided a bilateral long-term loans on the most favourable rate direct investment and joint

financial ventures.

The summit on its final day signed documents on Afro-Arab economic and financial cooperation and discussed on the ways and methods of realizing this co-operation.

In his address to the summit meeting the president of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Bare, congratulated the summit secretariat for its hard work in preparing the summit. President Siad called on the participants the need of the immediate implementation of the important resolutions adopted by the summit. «The atmosphere of cordiality, understanding and mutual respect for one another which characterised the summit throughout its sessions reaffirms the solidarity between Africa and the Arab world and further contribute to the achievements of the decisions of the summit» he said.

Speaking to reporters after attending the Afro-Arab summit Jaalle Siad declared

that the summit was crowned with success. «I can say with absolute certainty that the summit has been successful in forging cooperation and solidarity between the two sides» stressed the president. «Colonialist and imperialist forces will make efforts to disintegrate Afro-Arab unity and cooperation by trying to sabotage the successful implementation of the summit resolution», continued the president. He pointed out the need for vigilance against imperialist subversion and the necessity for the African and Arab States to maintain constant consultation in ensuring the implementation of the resolutions. He emphasized the pivotal role of the SDR, in forging Afro-Arab Unity and cooperation held the view that their interest lay in maintaining economic, political and social relations. «The geographic, cultural, economic and historical ties of the two sides makes it inevitable for them to wipe out colonialism and its lackeys» said the president.

## IN MEMORY OF COMRADE MARIAN NGUABI



The President of the People's Republic of the Congo was tragically assassinated on March 18th 1977. This tragic event was part of a large scale imperialist plot aimed at overthrowing the progressive regime of the Congo.

Former President of Congo Messamba Debat, was arrested immediately after the assassination. He has since admitted to the existence of a large scale plot to overthrow the progressive government, party and social organisations and to replace them with a pro-imperialist regime. He was sentenced to death.

The vigilance of the Congolese people permitted them to nip this heinous plot in the bud. Unfortunately, it did not pre-

vent the loss of life of a Great Comrade and Leader.

Comrade Nguabi became head of the Congo in 1968, following a victorious democratic Revolution spearheaded by the workers and other progressive elements. He decisively began to steer the Congolese anti-imperialist Revolution towards socialism. He safeguarded the Congo's progressive gains at times of great internal and external menace. The Revolution came to be consolidated and advanced through the creation of the Congolese workers Party and progressive social organisations for workers, youth and women. During the last congress of the Congolese workers Party Comrade Nguabi spearheaded a progressive reform movement aimed at fighting left and right-wing opportunists in

order to guarantee the Marxist-Leninist orientation of the Party.

Under his leadership, the Congolese Revolution gave firm support to all progressive forces especially to those around it, such as the MPLA in Angola. Such heroic behaviour has always exposed the Congo, to bitter imperialist propaganda and activities.

The Secretary-General of the SRSP, speaking on behalf of the Party, State and Soma.i masses, declared our sincere and heartfelt condolences to our Comrade of the People's Republic of the Congo. We are deeply shocked and grieved by the assassination of Comrade Nguabi. The SRSP has sent a delegation led by the chairman of the SRSP, CC Bureau of Commerce and Finance to the Congo to express our sympathy and to participate at the burial ceremonies.

The assassination has galvanized the progressive Congolese people. It has challenged them to further tasks aimed at safeguarding the Revolution. The leader is mortal, he dies, but the revolution and its institutions, the Party, these are immortal. The new President of the people's Republic of the Congo is comrade Colonel Joachim Nombi oraang who previously, held the title of Minister of Defence.

## IN MEMORY OF KAMAL JUMBLATT

Assassins killed Kamal Jumblatt during the middle of the month of March on his way to the village of «Al-Muktar». He met this tragedy while worried about the future of Lebanon, at the same time being aware of the inevitable victory of the democratic nation of Lebanon. This death has left deep sorrow and anger among the forces of progress on the other hand leaving joy and happiness among the forces against independence, democracy and peace.

among the forces against in-

The absence of Kamal Jumblatt from this bitter class struggle does not only affect Lebanon and the Arab World but all the national liberation movements. He has a clean and noble history which is part and parcel of the struggle of the Lebanese masses. For not less than forty years, he was involved in a struggle to ensure the expectations and hopes of the Lebanese people who were divided according to colonialist interests utilizing religion, tribal and ethnic issues etc. Kamal played a big role in the unity of the progressive parties of the Arab people, especially of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

That is why he was against the ethnic and religious grou-

pings in Lebanon, against the extermination of Palestinians and against puppets of international imperialism.

The bitter struggle he waged against the forces of reaction, the confidence he had in the ability of the working masses and the strong tie he had with the progressive world made it imperative for him to become the leading figure in the vanguard movements of the Lebanese struggle.

If we look back at the life of Kamal Jumblatt we find that he belonged to an aristocratic family. But he transcended his class background and fought for the interests of the working people. This clearly shows how committed and objective he was in his ideas and struggle. He founded his own party «Lebanon's Progressive Socialist Party» which cooperated and worked with other revolutionary parties.

It is without doubt that the death of Jumblatt is the work of reactionary forces, Zionists and international imperialists with the aim of stifling the liberation movements of the Arab people especially of Palestine, the progressive regimes and the peace negotiations going on in Lebanon and Geneva in order to stop the war in Le-

banon, a phenomenon which serves the interests of Israel and international imperialism. There are various methods imperialists use to pursue their intentions, the assassination of national and progressive leaders is among such methods.

Jumblatt was killed at time when he was indispensable. Let us ask ourselves, will the death of Jumblatt stop the revolutionary movements of the Lebanese masses?

It is true that Jumblatt has been shot when he was indispensable, at a time when his absence will be felt, but this does not mean the end of the Lebanese people's struggle. Experience has proved that in a real struggle the existing subjective condition does not end with the leader who helped to build it; in this case the esteemed Kamal Jumblatt of Lebanon. The same condition can produce more brave and capable leadership. The emphasis on the basic role of the masses does not mean denying the important role of the leader in a struggle. A leader like Jumblatt enhances the movement of history and it is for sure that the aims and ideas he was fighting for will triumph. Kamal Jumblatt will live forever, his ideas are immortal.



## THEORETICAL ISSUES

# THE LENINIST NORMS OF PARTY LIFE

By Yusuf Suleiman

In the previous issue of Halgan we have discussed the scientific theory of Lenin's principles of the leadership of the Party of a New Type. In this issue we shall discuss the fundamental rules of the Party of the New Type.

The revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism is the basic theory that leads to the formation of the Party of the New Type. The unity of its members enables the Party to fulfil its scientific programme, strategy and tactics. Historical experience has proved that capitalism and all other previous socio-economic formation have hindered the development of mankind. But this will vanish out through revolution and humanity will get into a new socio-economic formation; socialism which will put to an end all exploitation and oppression.

The only means that ensures a transition to socialism is through a revolutionary transformation of the society under the leadership of the working class with a Party of the New Type. A party which is different from all bourgeois parties.

The General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Siad explained the objective nature of the historical process, in his speech at the founding Congress of the SRSP and he said:

«Today, in the last quarter of the 20th Century we undoubtedly experience that Socialism is taking the upper hand and capitalism is fading away, we experience the formation of the world socialist system, the strongest force of our epoch, the working class in the capitalist countries is gaining more success in its relentless struggle. The colonial system has disintegrated and is approaching its final collapse, while the national liberation movements are becoming a big force in the world Revolutionary Movement».

Abolition of the exploitation of men could only be realised by the working people. Here lies the importance of the party's link with the toiling masses in giving them directives and guidance for the socialist transformation. Making a revolution is a necessary condition for reshaping the life of a new society, yet consolidating and undertaking a revolution is not an easy task it needs a well disciplined organisation.

The foundation of Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party gave the objectives of the 21st October Revolution a qualitative content.

In order to fulfil the Party Programme and the remote goals to be attained, it is necessary for party members to obey the fundamental norms and regula-

tions of the party. The Party of the New Type has certain norms which are necessary to be followed. These norms arose out of the historical development of society and the specific objective conditions directed by the creative talents of V. I. Lenin.

The iron discipline of the party lays the basis of party life, moulds its organisational structure and working programme. The above mentioned is embodied in the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party, which is, a Party of New Type. If these norms are not strictly followed, the Party will inevitably disintegrate and opportunist elements will have the means to infiltrate into the party ranks and the party norms will lose its effect upon the organisational principle of the Party. The relation of party norms to its organisational principle determines Party life.

The strict observance of the Party norms by the members and its social organisation reflects the following characteristics:

(i) the honesty, capability and activeness of party cadres. (ii) The advanced discipline and organisation. (iii) The unity of theory and practice by the party members.

The norms of party life differ according to the relation they have with:-

1. The membership of the party, its rights and duties
2. The party organisational method, especially the principle of democratic Centralism.
3. The assurance of party unity.

#### *MEMBERSHIP OF THE PARTY OF THE NEW TYPE:-*

The capability, activeness, the unity and interdependence of the party members and the social organisation's ability to mix with and influence the masses depends on the quantity, quality, discipline, the ideological maturity, and the political awareness of the party members. The correctness of the party policy, its capability of fulfilling its historical mission of leading the working masses who are always ready to build a socialist society, is greatly determined by the understanding and the organisation of its members, that is why membership is of great significance for the unity of the Party of the New Type.

The Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party gives more emphasis to the development of the quality of the new members, the acceleration of their activeness and responsibility, which makes members follow and respect its norms and regulations. It is specified out in the Statute that, to be a member of the Party one should strictly observe the following norms:-

- (i) To accept Party Programme and Statute
- (ii) To participate actively in the socialist construction.
- (iii) To participate in one of the cell's activities.
- (iv) To implement Party resolutions and
- (v) To pay the Party subscriptions regularly.

Engels declared that:-

The first article of Party membership is to accept the Party Programme and Statute which specifies scientifically the essence, political outlook, the immediate and remote objectives of the Party. It further points out the various ways of its realisation. The member's acceptance of the Party Programme indicates the belief and confidence a member has in the objectives and aspirations of the party. By his own free will one participates with other members and social organisations in concretizing the Programme. The second aspect which increases the importance of accepting the Party Programme is the fact that it is specified that the pillars and the organisational, ideological and the tactical measures of the Party is based on the Marxist-Leninist theory. The Party cannot fulfill its tasks without a common ideology that unites all its members:- «without a common ideology, the party will have no value or meaning» Lenin said (V. I. Lenin Vol 14 Page 120). The acceptance of the Party Programme embodies the class identity of the member, his confidence in the SRSP and his revolutionary world outlook. This clearly shows that accepting the Party Programme is not an easy or superficial act but an ideological identification of old and new members which compells members to fulfil the objectives of the Party Programme. Since the Party of the New Type clearly defines its objective stand, only those who devote themselves to the implementation of its Programme can be a member. Yet a common ideology by party members is not enough, their ideas, actions, theory, practice and ideological organisations must prove to be of the same identity. Engels declared that:-

«There is no party that can fulfil its tasks without its own organisation.»

We can understand from the above the necessity of the unity of theory and practice. There can be no organisation without certain rules that direct and concretize its day to day objectives. These rules will be the connecting link of the different activities of the party members. That is why it became imperative for the Party to provide in addition to the programme a statute directing the daily life of the party.

Acceptance of the Party Statute means that, the incoming member has on voluntary basis accepted to implement the tasks, aims and objectives of the Party and is fully aware of its correctns and as a result willingly accepts every article in the Statute.

What are the advantages of the Statute? The Statute makes it easy to unite the objectives of Party members. It also creates affection and mutual understanding between them. The vital point of all is party discipline which is to be strictly followed and respected. If there is no strict discipline the Party cannot play its role of leading, organising and mobilizing the working masses. Therefore it is worth stressing that accepting and understading the Party Statute is as important and vital as accepting its Programme. The Programme and the Statute together from the basic theoretical and organizational unity of the Party as well as the unity of action in party leadership.

The relation a member has to the Party Constitution and Programme determines a member's partisan-

ship. V.I Lenin said; «The line that separates the party members from non-party members is the party programme, its tactical decision and constitution. Any member who does not comply with the party programme and statute, will go beyond this line and therefore automatically loses his membership».

The second article of Party membership is to belong to one of the party cells and participate in its activities. This article has importance for the Party in general and for each individual member in particular. What advantages does it have for the Party- First of all the Party will be in a position to organise and direct the task of every socialist oriented person, supervise the activities of all the party tasks. It will take advantage of the knowledge, experience and the activeness of the members in a balanced way and therefore have the chance to make sure that the socialists are implementing the duties entrusted to them for being members. The work one does within the Party cell is and in social organisations determines how socialist a member is, his understanding, capability and self-sacrifice. The Party cannot disregard the duty of being responsible for the control of each and every member. Experience has proved that, the parties which have neglected this Article have been ruined and turned into a club where fruitless debates are held. Participating in one of the Party cell activities is every other day becoming a necessary factor in Party life and a real party school for members especially in:-

- i) The development of political awareness.
- ii) The promotion of the personality of the members and their

tactical consciousness in the class struggle.

- iii) The study and preservation of Party work.

A real socialist is made, tried and tested in the party cell. The cell gives him the chance to participate in Party work, exercising his rights such as the right of electing, discussing theoretical issues while applying criticism and self-criticism and fulfilling the given tasks. It is worth mentioning that the cells themselves should create the conditions and the duties to be done by the members.

The third membership Article is that members should actively participate in the socialist construction. This article specifies that the Party should accept in its ranks only those who are ready to build a new society, people who reserve no effort for the eradication of exploitation and the construction of the material base for a new society, members who are an example in the implementation and consolidation of scientific socialism.

A good example are the SRSP members, who in addition to other conditions have been selected according to their hard struggle during the seven (7) years of revolutionary transformation and who proved to be selfless in work and the construction of socialism.

The fourth membership Article is the fulfillment of the Party decision. The essence of this article is not subordination only but a necessity to implement Party decisions. Obeying and enforcing the party decisions is a basic ele-

ment of party membership. This article is part and parcel of the principle of democratic centralism which combines democracy and discipline within the Party, the subordination of the minority to the majority and the implementation of the decisions of the higher organs of the Party. The experience of other parties have proved the negative consequences of ignoring this article which results out of misconception. A party will not fulfill its duties and implement its programme unless first it puts into action party decisions. The General Secretary of the SRSP has often reminded party members to be ready and get matured for the implementation of party decisions at all levels.

The fifth membership article is concerned with the monthly subscription. The Party of the New Type emerges and develops as a result of the maturity and understanding of its members, it is a party of voluntary membership. The party must have funds to finance its various activities. The main sources of the party funds are the members monthly subscriptions, income from the party journals, books etc, of course members subscriptions is the main source of party funds. From its funds the Party pays for its propaganda, education, publication of journals, books, etc and professional employees.

It is imperative to pay the monthly subscription as due, so that the workers feel confident, united and self-reliant.

The above mentioned norms are the main pillars for the implementation of scientific socialism. In the next issue I will elaborate more on this subject.



# POLITICAL VOCABULARY

## PATRIOTISM

**PATRIOTISM** — Love for one's country. «One of the most deeply ingrained sentiments inculcated by the existence of separate fatherland for hundreds and thousand of years». (Lenin, Vol. 28, P. 187). Patriotism is a result not of a mysterious «national spirit» or «racial soul» as asserted by idealist sociologists but of definite socio-economic conditions. It is a historical phenomenon which has different content in different epochs.

Patriotism acquired special importance in the epoch of emerging capitalism as nations and national states were formed. Today in the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia, patriotism has its content and importance. These people are struggling for their independence, economical and

cultural development, liquidation of the vestiges of colonialism and reunification of the nation which had been shattered and divided by colonialism.

In the capitalist society, the further development and aggravation of antagonism of classes increasingly revealed the falsity and hypocrisy of the patriotism of the bourgeoisie who places profit and «the safe-guarding of the alliance of the capitalists of all countries against the working class» (Lenin Vol. 27, P. 366).

In order to be saved from the aggravation of class antagonism in their societies, and to inculcate the spirit of patriotism in the people for the national progress, the newly freed countries from colonialism should choose scientific socialism as a guiding

ideology.

Only the classes connected with progressive tendencies of Societal development can truly express the national interests. In bourgeois society, such classes and, therefore, real patriots are the working masses and above all the proletariat. The working class fighting for the revolutionary remaking of society and building of socialism expresses the deepest national interests of its country, of the entire people. It is only the socialist society that the working people for the first time gain a true fatherland. This gives rise to new socialist patriotism, which becomes one of the driving forces of the new society.

Socialist patriotism is inseverably bound up with proletarian internationalism.

## NATIONALISM

**Nation** — A historically formed community of people. A nation is distinguished first of all by common material conditions of life: territory and economic life; community of language, psychological make-up and also certain traits of national character, manifested in the national specifics of its culture.

**Nationalism** — At the stage of the national liberation mo-

vement, Marxism considers nationalism historically justified to support the nationalism of the oppressed nation, which has a general democratic content (anti-imperialism, striving for political and economic independence.) In this case nationalism is an aspiration and devotion to the interest of one's own nation.

Nationalism developed in the process of formation of nations which was accompanied by the emergence of national languages, cultures, the moulding of

a special national psychology and national sentiments.

Bourgeois and reformist ideologists and revisionists utilise nationalism as refined means for stifling the class consciousness of the working people, splitting the international working class movement and justifying colonialism and wars between nations. Nationalism is acceptable in any form to the working people, whose interests are expressed only by proletarian internationalism.

The national question should be approached historically, because its content and importance are not the same in different epochs. In the period of the emergence of nations, the national question involved the overthrow of feudalism and liberation from foreign national oppression. In the epoch of imperialism the national question has become an inter-state problem and has merged with the

general problem of liberating the colonial peoples and has developed into a national colonial question. As the Leninist concept of national question asserts, in a national question which used to oppress and colonise other nations if a true socialist revolution takes place in that country, the national and colonial question has to be solved on the basis of self determination of nations and the

right of the working people, and other progressive forces has to be respected, otherwise the proclamation of that country for socialism is nothing rather than false hypocrisy and empty slogans.

Only the socialist system could solve the national question, establish equality of nations and remove the social roots of oppression.

## PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

The ideology of the international solidarity of the proletarian and labouring people of all countries is one of the basic ideological principles by which the working class and its party are guided. The idea of proletarian internationalism was first enunciated by Marx and Engels in **THE MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY**, which proved the class interests of the workers of all countries in the struggle for liberation from capitalism. The essence of proletarian internationalism is expressed in the slogan «Working men of all countries, Unite!!» The working class of every nation cannot regard its struggle disassociated from the proletariat (1) of other nations, for its enemy is not only the bourgeoisie of its own country but also the bourgeoisie of other coun-

tries. In proletarian internationalism the love of the proletariat for its country, the desire to see it free from class and other kind of oppression, to see that all the vestiges of colonialism are completely wiped out, is integrally bound up with the support of the struggle of the working people of other countries for peace, democracy and socialism.

A scornful attitude to other nations even small ones, is alien to proletarian internationalism, for every nation makes its own contribution to world culture. One of the manifestations of proletarian internationalism in contemporary conditions is the friendship, solidarity and mutual help of the world revolutionary forces:-

- World socialist system;
- National liberation Movements;—
- Working class of the capitalist world;

Support of the working class of the capitalist countries for their victory over capitalism and to build socialism in their countries, support for the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America who gained their political independence in completing their national liberation are among the most important requirement of proletarian internationalism.

(1) Proletariat — The working class, including especially, those who do not possess capital and must sell their labour in order to survive.



## CULTURE AND ART

# SOMALI PATRIOTIC POETRY «PART II»

—by Rashid Sh Abdillahi

In the former issue of HALGAN we have discussed the basis from which Somali poetry developed. We have also indicated the historical transformations through which our society has undergone and the internal and external causes underlying these transformations. Finally, we have connected the emergence of patriotic poetry with the inception of the Somali national consciousness.

Presently, we shall attempt to survey the nature and characteristics of the patriotic poetry appearing during the struggles for independence. It is a historical fact that art, in the general sense, is the reflected experience and feelings of the artist in a literary form. The Somali poet living during this period of the struggles for independence was extremely motivated by the constant grievances of the Somali people against colonialism and foreign oppression. Consequently, the Somali poet became conscious of his new responsibilities, at a time when a national upsurge bringing about new horizons, and the imminent approach of independence, have appeared on the scene.

It was this same upsurge that have brought the Somali people together from all directions. However, the established unity was entirely unlike all its traditional precedents. The tra-

ditional parochial call-phrases of where are my kinsmen? were substituted with, where are my countrymen? New pre-occupations and nationalistic thoughts have come to the fore in people's observation and these included, for example, why is our country partitioned by foreign governments and outside forces? Why are we divided among these powers like inherited herd of sheep? Can't we become a free nation equal to other nations in the world and having our own government?

These circumstances existing at the time conditioned the Soma-

lis to find concrete answers for the above questions and to comment on the situation in their own words. A word could be said in many different ways and at times it may prove to be a crucial weapon to fight with. The latter is true usually when it is carried within a poetic verse, short story or staged play.

Thus, for the first, the Somali poet had to respond in a literary form to the challenge of realistically expressing on the hectic circumstances felt by his people. The result of this obligation was the birth of a new poetry, which



we recognise today as the Somali patriotic poetry. More specifically a new form of poetry understood as «Hees»-the Somali song-which became a popular form appeared. It has been conditioned by the prevailing masses struggles, their patriotic awakening and mobilisation which was largely ensured by the leading political parties. However, the song was not at all something new to the art scene, but before now it was usually confined to the traditional folklore dances such as «Dhaanto», «Botorka», «Wa.asaqaada», etc and to the specific poetry related to work such as the songs recited during watering animals and during evenings when the animals are being taken back to their shelters. in other words, the «Hees» is understood as a form of poetry differing from poetic «Gabay» in its meter and structure. Other poetic forms like the «Geeraar», «Buraanbur» and the «Guurow» have the same meter structure with the «gabay». By and large the «Hees» is very often associated with rhythmic movements (clapping, etc).

The form of poetry which come under this category of «Hees» are really numerous. We can cite for illustration only such forms as the «Jiifto» and «Dhaanto» which are based on folklore dances and other forms like the camel songs, the song for the young sheep (Maqalay Warlaay), the «Kebed» song (the kebed is a rug-like structure made of accacia fiber and coloured thread put on the roof of the hut for shelter) and those employed when the women are making knots on the terminal ending of their «caws» (also another structure like the kebed but made of grass and put on the sides of the hut for shelter) - all of the latter

being work songs. Even though the Somali songs are numerous, yet before the inception of the new patriotic poetry they formed only two broad classification i.e work songs and folklore dance songs.

The monumental contribution of the patriotic poetry lay in its capacity to change the above classifications of the Somali song. The Somali song for the first became applicable into new fields beyond the border into which it was so far confined. It transcended these limitations and proceeded to discuss and portray issues pertaining to the social life of the people, their thoughts and the political turmoils prevailing within the country. On this plane, the song was neither connected to any working activity nor entertaining event. In point of fact, the song became the best tool for awakening and mobilising the people in their struggles.

This is explained by the unique features common to this particular poetic form. First of all, the song has quick and easy affinity for hearing and this is due to its short meter structure and simple music. Secondly the song used to be played traditionally in a collective form or even in solo followed by a chorus.

These reasons facilitated for the people to sing collective songs while meeting into gatherings and discussing matters related to the struggles for independence. It should be clear by now that such forms as the «Geeraar» and the «Buraanbur» which are variants of the poem and which are listened from a single person and all that could be added by the audience was clapping jubilations, were no

longer relevant to the context. This ushered in the new historical role of the song which matched with the concrete realities and enabled a wide group of people to sing collectively in a rythm. The songs of this period were all popular and carried the voice of the people. As a result, they had a high reputation among the public. To indicate this, we may refer to the following song, thus:

«Ay Somalis wake up from your slumber;  
Wake up and unite yourselves.  
And those of you who are weak  
should be helped by those that are strong».

This song was not only symbolic of the deep brotherhood existing between the people, but also became a crucial feature of the new patriotic poetry with its emphasis on unity.

The patriotic songs possessed a highly simplified diction familiar to everybody, and more often than not embodied ideas and wisdom close to the imaginations and consciousness of the people. This can very well be understood by looking at these two lines:

«For a robbed camel  
you venture at the risk of being  
shot  
our mother land being robbed by  
foreigners  
Can't you throw even a stone for  
it.»

The authentic patriotic feelings contained with this song, more than anything else, depict the relevance of its theme and its suitability as the best tool for relaying to the masses the quest for independence; and the quickness with which the consciousness for such quest spread among the people. This was all due to the powerful

reciting affinity inherent in the nature of the Somali song - an important qualification missing from our poems.

The scope of the song was not confined only to those carrying the public voice and, thus, were collectively recited, but it proceeded to a new stage when certain poets composed long verses of «Jiifto» and «Dhaanto» of equal meter structure with the song, while at the same time containing within themselves the wisdom and broad insights originally expressed only by the poem and nominally traceable to the composer. Among the poets who spearheaded this contribution within the patriotic poetry, and who were not really many of them, we can take as an example the late famous poet Mohamed Ismail (Belaayo-Cas).

Mohamed Ismail started his composing career during the advent of the independence struggles and embarked upon a new trend of composing songs along the standards of the poem. He composed new songs which portrayed themes pertinent to national independence, colonial oppression and the different aspects of the social life existing under colonialism.

As a matter of fact, the poetic compositions of Mohamed Ismail had a broad scope and all the aspects dealt within his work is by no means exhaustive. Even though his poetry may apparently seem superficial when quickly viewed from the top, yet it is much deeper and can not be grasped by simply making hastily impressionistic judgements. This could be illustrated by the following lines taken from his famous song Take the judgement or in Somali: «Garta naqa,» thus:

«The man going into the grave himself  
In the coffin remains in tranquility  
You are dying while still oppressed  
You Somalis take the judgement  
And what is the rationale for death».

When we concentrate on these lines we instantly become aware about the simplicity of its diction and the profundity of the wisdom it expresses. In the same verse, he continued, thus:

«If we collaborate with him for twenty years  
And tolerate colonialism until a century  
The British can never recognise peoples' rights  
And since he won't leave without struggle  
Independence has climbed on the peak of a high mountain  
Unattainable without spurting our horses to gallop faster».

In point of fact, in many instances you will entertain the conviction that Mohamed Ismail is pessimistic, and have lost hope in real life after reading his poetry which is characterised by an imagery reflecting gloominess and desperation. But this is not the case and while his poetry possesses tinges of sadness and gloominess, yet these are blamings and encouragements addressed to his people. To substantiate this we may refer to his song I am in Grief But not Sick or in Somali «Ciil baa i hayee ma qabo cudur» thus:

Our chiefs, elders, and children All have become Senile in their thoughts There is no one sober among my people to share with my grievance I am in grief but not sick

When we read the first lines, we easily think that the poet is very disappointed about his people and had lost all hope in them. But this conviction is immediately shattered, when we concentrate on the idea conveyed by the repeating line at the end of each stanza which is «I am in grief but not sick».

Mohamed Ismail was among the great composers and genius who made a monumental contribution in the growth and development of the new patriotic poetry which emerged during the independence struggles. Along with other important poets, he freed the song from its narrow limits of work and entertainment. Even though the attempt was previously tried by Sayid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan, who composed long verses of «Jiifto», «Dhaanto» and others, yet there is a distinction between something which is merely a personal initiative and, thus, remains a personal exercise as was the case of Sayid Mohamed and something which captures the popular appreciation of the whole people and, thus, acquires a solid mass foundation. The role of Mohamed Ismail and his companions lay in the latter qualification.

As we have already mentioned, even though the song have taken the most crucial part in the awakening and mobilisation of the people, yet we can not underestimate the role of the poem (also geeraar and buraanbur included) which have manifested no smaller validity than the song within the context of the patriotic struggles. The broad scope in the ideas, wisdom and the outlook characterised by the poem in the old days was not lost at all in the

new patriotic poems. Their difference lay only in the relevance of their themes.

The patriotic struggles contributed to the poem new patriotic outlook and attitude. If we have already pointed out that national consciousness was lacking in the old poetry, it has become the cornerstone of the new poetry. Here, it is essential to touch upon the new changes which have occurred in the old construction of the poem as a result of the new outlook and objectives with which it had to cope with.

Like his counterpart, the Somali poet had as his tradition to seriously contemplate on life and enrich his experience, while at the same time drawing wisdom from the experience of other people. This tradition itself was an invaluable heritage which positively helped the patriotic poetry. While the old poetry was oriented towards the strengthening of kinship consciousness and the mode of life existing at the time, the patriotic poetry transcended these barriers and more often than not levelled its harsh criticism and condemnation against tribalism, whereas, it called upon the people for unity and independence.

One of the poets of the former period has this line in one of his verses, thus:

«Where six of you are present  
Don't stop contemplating of war»

When this poet was saying these words, this particular poet was awakening his tribesmen. It was possible that another poet who had participated in the patriotic struggles might have uttered similar lines, but the difference lay in the outlook behind their compositions.

Looking it from a different angle, an invaluable dimension of the

heritage of the Somali poetry included its characteristics of being dressed in numerous symbolisms reflecting on many sides the life and experience of the poet, while at the same time never alienating his theme. This was followed by the coherent and articulate fashion in which the poet established his diction which gave substantial exposition to the form of his poetry.

Such heritage became a solid component of the patriotic poetry and advanced it to a higher stage. To indicate this, we can refer to the famous poem of the late great hero of the patriotic struggles Comrade Ali Hussein. In a verse he composed in 1951 talking in it about independence, he said:

«The glowing fire, the bursting thunders and the flying flames

The banging sounds, the shattered buildings and the smoking lumber.»

In some other lines of this verse, he said:

Crimes are all being incurred  
for the sake of land  
Everyman is looking for an extra pasture

Conflicts over pasture  
Are the cause of much bloodshed

And those few men who defend  
their fatherland

Only those are its loyal and  
patriotic sons.

But woe to them if those true  
sons are scattered for in disunity  
they can't break astick.

In point of fact, it is more difficult to split this verse into different parts and, hence, take few lines for illustration. This is due to the solid nature of its composition and the organic integra-

tion of its parts where each and every line is a twin of the next and can not convey complete meaning standing by itself. Moreover, the verse contains numerous imagery which like flood come one after another, until finally the poet reaches his aim, thus saying:

«Many a time did he put heavy loads upon  
your back like upon donkeys,  
Fight for your country, for today  
is the last day of servitude».

The significance of Ali Hussein and many of his brethren poets, who had contributed to the patriotic poetry is revealed by their wonderful capacity of comprehending the accumulated heritage of the Somali poetry and their success in applying it, while at the same time developing an entirely different poetry from the previous one. A concrete example of this matter is the verse just indicated above.

The Somali literature which had existed for a long time developed a special diction founded upon the specific natural environment and social climate from which it had appeared. An important feature of this diction was its abundant utilisation of words describing the environment such as the rain, the impoverishment and prosperity of the pasture, the well-being and starvation of the livestock, the representation of camels as a source of wealth and prestige and the lion as source of strength and power.

Even though the patriotic poetry ushered in a new diction different from that of the previous poetry, yet it didn't undermine its relevance to local environment and especially to the pastoral

rural life. To indicate this, we may refer to some lines taken from a verse Composed by Ali Hussein in 1951, thus:

«Like the thirsty camel whose diaphragm becomes as thin as the giraffe's And in starvation such a camel Surely rejects the sucking of its offspring  
And the man who lived on Goray's milk becomes disappointed for not finding milk from his she-camel  
I lost all sleep my countrymen»

It is evident from here that the poet is employing the classical diction and imagery of the old poetry, even though his theme is related to the contemporary odd situation facing his people. The dialectical integration between the ideas, themes and objectives of the patriotic poetry and the classical diction of the old poetry is not a matter of the past, but is one of the present. Today, when present poets are composing on current themes related to the construction of the new society based on scientific socialism, they describe it like prosperous rural encampment where all the she-camels have delivered, all this attained after long hectic winters and pastoral immigrations. To my mind, this is explained by the fact that the poets of the patriotic struggles were men who were well-versed with the old traditions and culture of the Somali society though they lacked significant knowledge of modern education and concepts.

The few who had the opportunity of acquiring formal education lost in touch with the cultural heritage embodied by the Somali language and literature. Hence, the poets who developed from this situation were very few. But since the Somali script is written and the system of education has been somalised we are quite hopeful that a new generation of artists and poets will emerge who combine their knowledge of modern education with the rich culture possessed by the long traditions and literature of the Somali people.

Naturally, this will facilitate to widen the scope and outlook of modern Somali poetry and its subsequent transformation both in form and content.

Last but not the least, if we may attempt to provide few remarks on the most important aspect of patriotic poetry, we can obviously notice that it fully expressed and portrayed the realities of the specific historical stage which conditioned its emergence. Above any thing else, it was fundamentally patriotic and in this feat embodied declarations of freedom, unity and sovereignty for the Somali people. It strongly condemned tribalism and disunity. Nevertheless it was essentially devoid of any socio-economic comprehension based on real life and the class conflicts which characterise such a life. But, in so far it has shown failure in this matter, we can hardly belittle its contributions and was justified in its limitations. This is explained by the socio-political

process with which it was born whose concomitant results conditioned the all round participation of the people, social groups and classes in a harmony against alien rule. At this stage, class consciousness was embryonic and the decisive antagonistic contradiction between the conflicting classes was not fully exposed. It is this contradiction, which in essence determines the outcome of such questions as: who will benefit from the freedom and independence that is to be attained? To whose advantage is sovereignty being won? Such questions came to the fore and touched upon the consciousness of the Somali poet after the attainment of the sham independence in 1960.

But the poet failed to grasp the class nature of the tragedy which had befallen to the nation after independence thinking that the problem was simply due to the election of bad politicians and personalities in the political rule. He could not fully grasp the fact that what happened was the result of the antagonistic contradictory social relations manifested by the confrontation between the reactionary classes working in alliance with colonialism on the one hand, and the masses on the other.

The genuine understanding of all the above problems involved in the social life of the society challenge the Somali poet to increase his substantial knowledge and his ability to grasp and reflect in his poetry, the most important aspects of real social life.



# Reflections on FESTAC '77,,

By Boobe

Great excitement, joy and jubilation... it was the most remarkable happening, a historic gathering of peoples from every corner of the globe. Black peoples who had suffered imperialist exploitation, who have been dispersed and endured the misery of slavery, sent representatives to Lagos to participate in the Black and African Festival of arts and Culture.

It was the second festival of its kind. The first one was held in Dakar in 1966, but Festac '77 was much grander both in content, and organisation. The Dakar Festival was much smaller in scale and was dominated by the ideas of Negritude. The Lagos Festival was huge, it was fantastic and the host country Nigeria deserves credit for its success. Negritude ideas were heard but there were strong clear voices advocating progressive positions, declaring an anti-imperialist solidarity of African and all other oppressed peoples.

Nigeria built a special city to accommodate for the over fifteen thousand participants. Transportation services were provided, security guards, health services etc. Lagos was also able to host another 40,000 guests who came to observe the Festival. One of the most modern theatres was built, perhaps one of the best in the world.



The Festival opened on the afternoon of 15th January, 1977 at the National Stadium in Lagos. Participating countries marched around the Stadium as colourful contingents bearing national flags and emblems, wearing national dresses, dancing and singing national songs. It was a magnificent reunion, it represented the dialectical unity and diversity of African and Black peoples.

The Festival proceedings were divided into the following events:

1. Exhibitions
2. Folklore dances
3. Music
4. Drama
5. Films
6. Literature
7. Colloquium

As to facilitate the work of preparing for Festac '77, the participating delegates were grouped on the following way:

1. Southern America
2. Arab countries
3. America (USA) and Canada
4. England and Ireland
5. Europe
6. Australia
7. Southern Africa
8. Eastern Africa
9. Western Africa (Anglophone I)
10. Central Africa 1
11. Central Africa 11
12. Western Africa (Anglophone II)
13. Western Africa (Francophone I)
14. Northern Africa
15. Western Africa (Francophone II)
16. Liberation Fronts.

The different events of the Festivals took place in different places such as: the National Theatre, the Tafawa Balewa Square, the National Stadium and the Lagos City Hall. The «Durbar» (traditional horse show) took place twice in the city of Kaduna northern Nigeria. There was also a boat-show which was held in Lagos.

The Somali Democratic Republic's contingent to Festac '77 consisted of about 150 persons made up of Waberi and Iftin artists, and the other delegates from the Ministries of Higher Education and Culture, Information, Education, from the National Academy of Culture and from the Somali National University.

Somalia participated in most of the major events of Festac '77. Preparations for Festac were carried on in most of Somalia months ago under the heading of Banfas. Permit me to comment briefly on Somalia's entries to Festac.

### 1. EXHIBITIONS.

Somalia presented various aspects of our traditional arts and crafts. The most interesting and attractive things were made of ivory. Large numbers of peoples



visited the Somali stand at the Exhibition Site and bought themselves souvenirs from Somalia. National and traditional Somali dresses were exhibited at the Dress show held at Lagos City hall.

### 2. FOLKLORE DANCES:

Various types of Somali Dances were presented in some aspects. They were like all other African dances and yet in other aspects they were strikingly unique. Sheikh Abukar became one of the famous star dancers of Festac. There were other remarkable individual performances yet, the

success as a whole came about as a result of the contributions of all our artists.

### 3. SOMALI MUSIC.

Somali singing was highly appreciated even though the audience could not understand the words. After all, Music and song contains an international language of its own.

### 4. DRAMA — THE DRUM

Somalia presented the «Drum»

as its entry to the drama events of the Festival. The Drum was performed on January, 17th, and it received great acclaim. It was highly praised in Media reviews, repeated showing appeared on Nigerian Television Stations. The Drum sums up the history of African and Black peoples. It covers the precolonial period, slavery, colonialism and partition of Africa, the Nationalist Movements, independence and struggle against colonialism.

The drum represents total theatre — acting, poetry, singing and

dancing, pantomime, and slide projections as background. Even though performing in the Somali language its message was clear. Infact one of the reasons for its striking success was the very fact it was a drama presented in an African language (many of the other dramas were either in French or English).

### 5. FILMS.

Somalia presented two documentary films at the Festival, one on the Sand-Dune Prevention Project and the other on the Rural Development and literacy campaign. The audiences were pleased & amazed to see the remarkable efforts undertaken by the Somali people to achieve progress under the Revolution of October 21st 1969.

### 6. LITERATURE.

Somalia participated in the Poetry Reading Sections of Literature. Our participants were Abdikadir Hersi Yamyam and Galal. Yamyam read a long poem specially composed on Festac for Festac. Musa Galal read in traditional style, the classical poem by the Sayid Mohamed Abdalla Hassan entitled «The Death of Richard Corfield».

### 7. THE COLLOQUIUM.

The Colloquium represented the heart of Festac '77. It was the crucial event, an intellectual understanding of African History and culture were undertaken. It was a field for intensive ideological debates. The agenda was «Black Civilization and Education», subdivided into ten sub-topics:

The Arts, Philosophy, Religion, Pedagogy, language, literature

historical awareness, Politics in Government, Technology and Massmedia.

Somalia presented an important paper entitled «The Revolutionary Development of the Somali Language», this paper, dealt with one of the most difficult problems facing African peoples, the question of writing African languages and using them officially for administration, Politics, Mass-media Education etc. Somalia's unique experience attracted interest from various delegates and journalists. The resolution was even passed to request Somalia to hold a language development Conference in Mogadishu some time in the future. Somalia's participation in drama and poetry reading all of these served to strengthen the thesis Somalia presented at the colloquium. At the Somali Exhibition Stand, interested parties were also able to view various books published in the Somali language such as Science text books, on History, Geography, literature and Somali language Dictionaries.

The Somali delegation to the colloquium also took an active part in the debates connected with their adoption of Festac «77» Resolutions. It became one of the leading progressive delegations at the Colloquium thereby attracting a great deal of attention from Newspapers, Radio Stations and Television.

The delegation from Guinea, Cuba, Somalia, assisted by other progressive delegates such as certain Afro-Americans, made the colloquium, the heart of Festac denounced the pro-imperialist nations of negritude. Inspite of all kinds of reactionary manipulations, the



colloquium, the heart of Festac «77» reflected an anti-imperialist stand, a call for solidarity of all oppressed peoples in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Apartheid and zi-

people died as a result of a road accident. The bus accident occurred while they were travelling to the state of Plateau where they had been invited to perform. HALGAN takes this opportunity to sa-



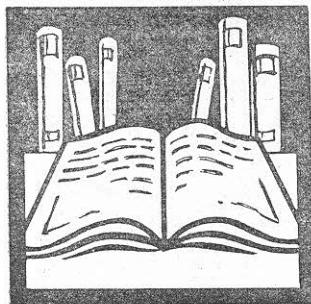
onism, in the struggle for Peace and progress under Socialism.

#### **VICTORY AND DEATH**

As is well-known, four Somali

lute these great heroes of Somali culture and to offer its sincere condolences to the families and friends of those who died in Nigeria.

## BOOKS AND DOCUMENTS



### PARTY OF THE NEW TYPE

The ideology and implementation of scientific socialism needs a deep philosophical study of its theory and the application of this theory into concrete practice according to given conditions. Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, the General-Secretary of the SRSP talking about this subject said: «Learn socialism, understand socialism, implement socialism».

The deep study of the theory of scientific socialism is specified in the Programme and Statute of the SRSP. The two documents make it compulsory for every member of the party and the Somali masses in general to learn this theory in order to implement it in their life, at the same time fulfilling the economic and political resolutions of the Party.

Socialist construction is impossible without scientific planning which can not be made without learning and understanding the theory of scientific socialism.

A Scientific study of what the Party of the New Type is will enhance the real implementation of its basic principles which are tied to daily life and the work of the party members and masses.

Members of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist party (SRSP) and Somali masses have the opportunity now to obtain a book which discusses the construction, organisation and implementation of the theory of scientific socialism, the experiences of socialist and progressive parties, and the directives of the General Secretary of the SRSP Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre. This text which is the first of its kind in Somali language has been written by Jaalle Shagin A.B. and translated by Jaalle Yusuf Suleyman Ali who are both among the teaching staff of the Political Science Academy. The book is titled «Party of the New Type», and it

is composed of sixteen topics in which daily work, outlook, organisational structure and ideology of the Party of the New Type are discussed.

Let me offer a general overview of the subjects in the text which include: the ideological study of scientific socialism, norms and documents fundamental for the socialist parties and the necessary procedure of fulfilling the tasks and responsibility of the Party of the New Type. The author essentially depicts the Party of the New Type as a workers party, the vanguard and the highest organisation of the working class whose role is to organize and lead the revolutionary forces. He urges that the execution of the norms and principles of Party life, the unity of theory and practice is a precondition for the implementation of socialism in any country. The directives of Jaalle Siad the Secretary General of the SRSP quoted in the book substantiate the above mentioned statements exhorting that scientific socialism is a scientific study of the theory with consideration of customs and laws peculiar to our conditions.

The text reveals the essence of studying and applying the norms, principles and laws necessary for making resolutions and decisions which determine mass leadership. It criticizes the present bourgeois political parties of the world and confirms the right stand of the party of the New Type, the only party fighting for political and economic independence. The text clearly discusses the emergence and the roots of the 21st October 1969 revolution; the changes in the administration and the formation of various committees which became the basis for the foundation of the Party of the New Type. It gives credit to the Programme and Statute of the SRSP, the basis of the ideology and unity of the party, the objectives of the masses and their links with it.

The author portrays the role of the party during socialist construction, the leadership qualities, the selection, preparation and distribution of cadres, the promotion of the economy and worker's culture. He also explains the reason behind the continuous reports and auditing, how reports are given, what makes necessary to implement decision by the higher organs and the control of their implementation. The role and qualities of a leader and the candidate of the party are mentioned. There is also a broad discussion about the task of every organ, member, Committee, branch and organisation of the party. Shagin's work systematically indicates the qualities needed in order for one to be a party and national leader, this include, the ability to organise work, responsibility, awareness to improve work and a demand of strict discipline and principles from the work mates.

The part dealing about daily party work and administration of government agencies is compulsory to be studied by the people in general so that they may know how to overcome the underdevelopment of the administration inherited from colonialism. The author talks about the correction of mistakes, the role of inspection and fulfillment of party tasks, resolutions and orders. He emphasises that control should be conti-

nous, systematic and tied to daily life. Party information promotes ties within the party and between the party and the masses.

The author concludes by mentioning the formation of the army party branch; party relations with the government and mass organisations, etc. He confirms the victory of parties with the scientific theory of socialism against imperialism.

While writing this book the author gave great consideration to the time and objective condition of the Somali Revolution thus clearly indicating the work and duties of the leadership of the SRSP, the wide responsibility facing party members whose commitments are determined by the study, consciousness and scientific understanding of the objectives of the Party of the New Type which leads a society to prosperity, equality and justice.

The Party of New Type gives party awareness to the workers, therefore it is imperative for all to study and criticize it. This book is very important for members and organizations of the party, the mass organisation, congratulations to Jaalle Shagin A.B. for his piece work, produced at a timely moment.

(From page 20)

construction going on, the life of the masses, administration and affairs connected with the increase of production and the development of the nation in general. They will inform the regional and district leaders about the changes so far done in the government administration since the foundation of the

Party:

The delegates will be working in regions from the 24th of March to the 15th of April. In one way we can say that social organizations were functioning throughout the existence of the former Political Office. But after the foundation of the SRSP it became necessary to legalize these organisations. Between the 4th and

7th of March, the Congress of the Somali Women Democratic Organisation took place. It was decided to establish the three social organisations more or less at the same time. The Social organisations are the linking ties of the Party to the masses, they are the stronghold of the Party. The social organisations are the creators of the source of Party Cadres.

# IN COMMEMORATION FOR KARL MARX

## ENGELS' SPEECH AT THE GRAVESIDE OF KARL MARX

On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been sick alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep - but for ever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion etc; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the State institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained instead of vice versa, as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and

the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially - in every field even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

Such was the man of science, but this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general for example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.

For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the State institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat,

which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the *Paris Vorwärts* (1844), the *Deutsche Brüsseler Zeitung*, (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848), the *New York Tribune* (1852 - 61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in organizations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally growing all the formation of the great International Working Men's Association - this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments both absolutist and republican deported him from their territories. Bourgeois whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers - from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America - and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy. His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work!

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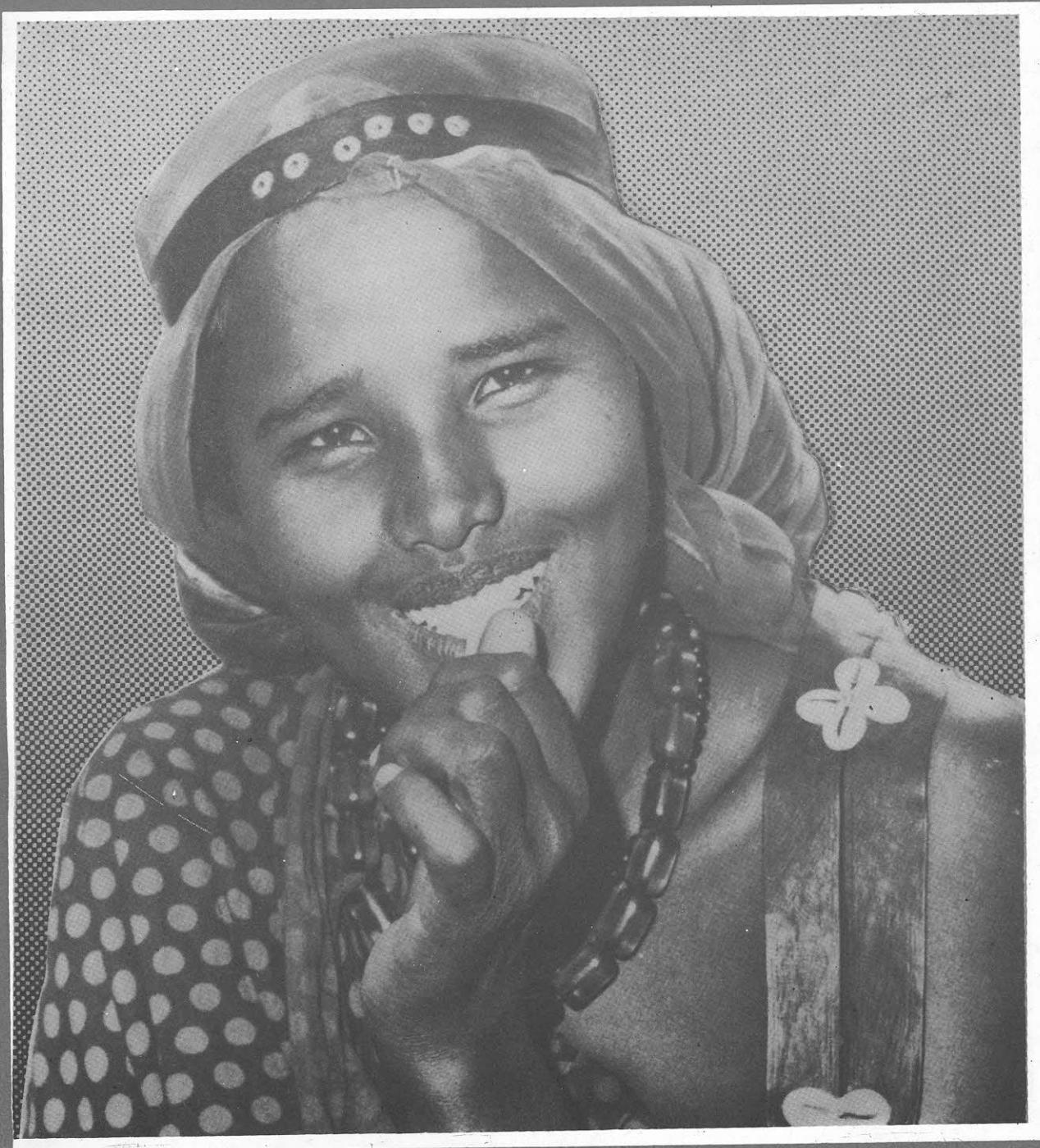
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maarsa 1977

# HIMILO



Codka Ururka Haweenka Soomaaliyeed



Himilo means "Aspirations", new journal of the Somali Women Democratic Organisation. This first issue marked the Foundation Congress of the SDWO



**Dambiil** Traditional basket weaved by Somali Women for use in daily life.